

One Hundred Great Years

*The Story of the Times-Picayune
From its Founding to 1940*

By

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DEDICATION

There always have been, there always will be editors and writers whose names shed luster on a newspaper, and the history of the Times-Picayune contains many to whom this book could be dedicated. But they are only incidental to its life—the radiant complexion, so to speak; while the anonymous workers are its red blood corpuscles, for they are its daily contacts, its careful recorders whose sincerity and truth give enduring and increasing authority to that which must be created anew every day. I therefore inscribe this book, not to the stars but to the firmament which contains the stars, the men and women unknown to fame who have carried the Times-Picayune to greatness during the past hundred years, and are carrying it and will carry it to a still larger service during the next hundred.

Preface

President Leonard K. Nicholson of the Times-Picayune Publishing Company in June, 1936, gave me the assignment to compile the editorial matter for a special edition which the *Times-Picayune* would issue on January 25 of the next year in commemoration of its hundredth anniversary.

It was an assignment right down my alley, for I had long been a student of Louisiana history. For that 268-page issue I wrote 240 columns, signed and unsigned, and directed the preparation of nearly 300 more columns. When I had finished, I realized that I had but outlined the story of the largest and most creative century in the history of my country, my state, and my community.

Hence this book, which is an assignment I gave myself in order to bring that hundred years into sharper focus, and to create a connected narrative with evaluating emphasis on the human implications reflected in the paper's increasing columns.

The work—if you wish to call it that—first called for a reading of every issue, from the first to the present time. When I had done that I found I had just begun; for, how can one tell the history of a newspaper without telling the history of its community? and how can one understand the history of a city without knowing the history of the state? and how can one comprehend the history of a state without knowing the history of the country? and of what value is the history of a country unless it is clogged with the world developments which gave it motivation as well as background? The task consumed nearly five years of intensive work—reading, making notes, writing, and rewriting; to say nothing of the months of revision.

The material for my shaping contains some of the most interest-

ing, most sensational, and most important developments in our country's history; and the growth of the newspaper exemplifies the value of a free press to the human cause.

Those who hurriedly scan the headlines do not realize that they are enjoying the privilege of first sources when the present is evaluated by the future. My study of the daily recordings of a century, revealing as they do the motives and understandings of the men and women who brought forth the eventuations, has given me a larger appreciation of a newspaper's value to history. I have, for instance, an entirely different conception of the War Between the States than the school books taught, as a result of the reports in the *Daily Picayune*. The historian in writing social history should give more attention to newspapers than to state documents and economic summations; for the newspaper columns, whatever their errors of fact or conclusion, reflect the beliefs and the interests and the emotional content of the times, and these are the road which humanity has always followed in the long and painful progress up from the primordial ooze.

Such details as the Algiers goat which stole a daily ride on the ferry to New Orleans; the great pokeberry duel of Mississippi; the patriot who made large contributions to the Confederate cause in public and exacted larger profits from the government in private; the bicycle ride to Boston when the bicycle was a large wheel in front and a small wheel behind; the emergence of women from sheltered bondage when it was proved that the feminine physique could endure the strain of typewriters; the furore about bloomers and sheath gowns; and the joy with which our people turned from the prediction of this global war to the bees swarming about a Canal street policeman—you will not find such chroniclings in the standard history books, but they are important, for they help us to understand the past by recreating the thoughts and attitudes of those times.

In putting together this book, I have been governed only by my own conception of what should be written and how it should be

emphasized. No one in the newspaper organization of which I was so long a member, or outside of it, has told me to play up this or soft-pedal that; to point with pride to this institution, or view with alarm that individual.

True, I have received advice and help from many sources. What careful reporter does not? But this was in clarifying obscure developments. Especially do I acknowledge the research assistance of Robert Usher, librarian of the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library of Tulane University; and the literary criticism and careful editing by Mrs. Ina Hunter Unglesby and Mrs. Leta Book Triche, readers for Louisiana State University Press, and Dr. M. M. Wilkerson, its director. There is hardly a page that has not felt the guidance of these three. But the appraisals in the narrative are my own—the result of my own study, knowledge or experience.

In this mountain town of New Mexico where I have been revising the manuscript, there died, a few weeks ago, a man who was 107 years old. He was a well-grown boy when Kendall, one of the founders of the newspaper of my study, and the other members of the Texan Santa Fé expedition were brought, brutalized prisoners, to Socorro, and he saw them start on the 1200-mile walk to Mexico City. His observing life spanned most of the period of my story, but he had no more comprehension of the great events of the past century than one has of an oration in a foreign language. Could any of us claim a larger understanding if we did not study history in the making or history made in newspapers and books? The importance of history lies not only in its revelation of that which has been, but also in its foreshadowing of that which is to be.

—THOMAS EWING DABNEY

Socorro, New Mexico, June 15, 1943

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1

Challenge

IT RAINED, oh, how it rained in New Orleans that Wednesday, January 25, 1837! One of those cold, long, penetrating rains of winter. It caused the fragrant gutters to overflow the streets, in places, to a depth of two feet, for the gorged swamps which reached almost to today's broad St. Claude avenue refused the slow runoff of the flat city; it turned gas and water main excavations into lakes, stirred into sudden waves by the gusty wind.

The more hardy of Louisiana's seventeen senators and forty-nine representatives sloshed through the wet to the capitol, which occupied the square bounded by Canal, Baronne, Common, and Philippa streets. Philippa was later renamed Dryades. But the legislators present did not make a quorum, and so there was no meeting. The mail from the East did not arrive;¹ it seldom did when the weather was foul, so the people were not upset. Another day would find them crowding into the post office, which was at Customhouse—today's Iberville—street and Exchange Place, to pay the large tolls,² and to discuss such recent news as the storm in

¹ The mail schedule was: North—due daily at noon, closed daily at 10:30 A.M.; West—due Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday, 5 P.M., closed Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, 9 P.M.; Lake mail, via Madisonville—due Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, 5 P.M., closed Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, 6 A.M. *Picayune*, April 25, 1837.

² Postage charges in those days began at 6 cents, for a single-sheet letter that was carried 30 miles or less, and went as high as 18¾ cents for one carried 400 or more miles; double for two sheets.

England on November 29, Santa Anna's plan for a new invasion of Texas despite his trouncing by Sam Houston at San Jacinto the year before, the racing season that was scheduled to begin March 14, and the Ouachita School Society's lottery which, under the authority of the Legislature, offered 27,814 prizes totaling \$243,900. Tickets were \$5. And, of course, there was the outrageous antislavery agitation in the North—"at the North," in the language of the day—which made many Louisianians wonder if their state had been farsighted in rebuking South Carolina's nullification proceedings of 1833.³

One steamboat arrived, three brigs cleared, and eighty-three ocean vessels were reported to be bound for the port. A man fell into one of the deeper excavations at Canal and Baronne streets and might have been drowned had it not been for the buoyancy of the large bundles of newspapers he was carrying.

It was on this day that the *Picayune* was born, the begetting of two printers who gave up steady jobs to challenge, with a new morning daily, a field in which there were already five well-established newspapers.⁴ It was to issue every day except Monday—the editors announced that Sunday was not to be violated by their labor or that of their menservants.

The elegant Martin Van Buren was then preparing to move

³ South Carolina declared the Federal tariff of 1832 to be null and void so far as that state was concerned. President Andrew Jackson threatened to send an army into the state, and South Carolina backtracked. It was impelled to nullification by Robert Barnwell Rhett, who for thirty years preached state rights and advocated resistance to centralized authority. He stated as early as June 12, 1828, after Congress passed a tariff bill favoring manufacturers: "The day of open opposition to the pretended powers of the Constitution cannot be far off; and it is that it may not go down in blood that we now call on you to resist." Elected to Congress, he devoted his first speech, in 1837, to a defense of nullification. He became known as the "father of secession," but was ignored when the secession movement reached a head in 1861, and when the Confederate government was organized. He died September 14, 1876, on the plantation of his son-in-law Alfred Roman, in St. James parish. He came to Louisiana in 1872 when his son, Barnwell, Jr., was made editor of the *Daily Picayune*. Laura A. White, *Robert Barnwell Rhett, Father of Secession* (New York, 1931).

⁴ The five other daily newspapers were *Louisiana Courier*, *Louisiana Advertiser*, *Bee*, *True American*, and *Commercial Bulletin*.

into the White House, which plain Andrew Jackson had occupied so explosively since 1829. Madison, the year before, had joined Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Monroe beyond the grave. Only six years had passed since the first steam train ran from Albany to Schenectady; only eighteen since the first American ship crossed the Atlantic under some steam but more sail; only twenty-five since the first steamboat floundered down the Mississippi river. Five years were to pass before the first emigrant train left bleaching bones on the Oregon Trail, and the United States was still short, by millions, of the 17,069,453 population which the census would reveal three years later.

Louisiana was close to its beginnings. Only seven years had passed since the death of Père Antoine, the priest whose life had evoked poignant fear of the Spanish Inquisition; only six since the demise of Dominique You, a roaring pirate with Laffite and a mighty bastion in Chalmette's thin line against which broke the British plans for conquest from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada in the last days of 1814 and the first of 1815; only three since the Lalaurie riots gave New Orleans the legend of a haunted house. Men, comparatively young, could remember the time when debate in Congress, attacking Jefferson's "extravagance" in the Louisiana Purchase, branded their people as decadent; yet in this short time Louisiana and New Orleans had become fabulous.

Louisiana's population, estimated at 42,000 in 1803, was rushing towards the 352,411 of the 1840 census; thirty-two of the state's sixty-four parishes, as counties there are called,⁵ had been erected

⁵ The new Territory of New Orleans, which contained most of today's Louisiana, was divided by the Legislative Council on April 10, 1805, into twelve counties, the boundaries of which were approximately those of the church parishes. On March 31, 1807, the Legislature divided Orleans Territory into nineteen parishes, but did not abolish counties. A sort of dual government resulted. Parish offices were created, but representatives were elected and territorial taxes were levied by county lines. The state Constitution adopted January 22, 1812, did not specify whether counties or parishes should be the political framework; but at the second session of the first Legislature the state was divided into seven judicial districts by parishes, and from then the word "parish" supplanted "county" more and more. As late as the Act of February 29, 1844, six electoral

and five more would be created by 1840.⁶ In the forty-odd years since De Boré had discovered the granulation process, for Louisiana, and Whitney had invented the gin, Louisiana's annual sugar and cotton production had grown to 75,000,000 and 90,000,000 pounds, respectively, the former bringing 3 to 4 cents a pound in 1837, the latter 12½ to 18¾ cents. Some believed the market must collapse under such increasing production; but men like Governor E. D. White said this was only a beginning.⁷

New Orleans had grown in population from 8000 at the time of the Purchase to 90,000.⁸ Including the incorporated faubourgs, it sprawled for five miles along the Mississippi river and extended inland for a quarter of a mile to two miles. The widest part was along Bayou St. John. Faubourgs were suburbs which took their names from the plantations on which they grew. They reached as far up as Carrollton.⁹ The levee which protected the city from river floods

districts for presidential electors were set up by counties. The Constitution of 1845 abolished the county. For a fuller discussion, see Robert Dabney Calhoun, "The Origin and Development of County-Parish Government in Louisiana (1805-1845)," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (New Orleans, 1935), 56-160.

⁶ Parishes erected and their population at the first census thereafter: In 1807—Ascension 2219, Assumption 2472, Avoyelles 1209, Concordia 2895, Iberville 2679, Lafourche 1995, Natchitoches 2870, Orleans 24,552, Ouachita 1077, Plaquemines 1549, Pointe Coupée 4539, Rapides 2200, St. Bernard 1020, St. Charles 3291, St. James 3955, St. John the Baptist 2990, St. Landry 5048, St. Martin 7369, West Baton Rouge 2335; in 1808—Catahoula 1164; in 1810—East Baton Rouge 1463, St. Helena 3026, St. Tammany 1723; in 1811—St. Mary 6442; in 1819—Washington 2517; in 1822—Terrebonne 2121; in 1823—Lafayette 5643; in 1824—West Feliciana 8629, East Feliciana 8247; in 1825—Jefferson 6846; in 1828—Claiborne 1764; in 1832—Livingston 2315; in 1838—Caddo 5282, Caldwell 2017, Madison 5142; in 1839—Union 1838; in 1840—Calcasieu 2057.

⁷ Governor E. D. White was the father of Edward Douglass White who became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1910.

⁸ *Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities of New Orleans and Lafayette* (New Orleans, 1838). A conservative estimate, for the 1840 census reported 102,193.

⁹ Three such faubourgs—Annunciation, Lafayette, and Livaudais—were consolidated by Legislative Act in 1833 to form the City of Lafayette, with boundaries which ultimately extended from today's Felicity to Toledano street, between the river and Metairie Road. This was in Jefferson parish and it became the seat of government of that political subdivision. It continued its corporate existence until 1852 when, with a population that had passed 14,000, it was absorbed by New Orleans. One by one the other faubourgs were also absorbed.

had risen to a height of six feet and spread to a width of one hundred; four miles of that levee were a quay or landing place for ships which forested the sky with masts, and for steamboats and flatboats which carried the commerce of 30,000 miles of inland waterways.¹⁰ It was a dirty city;¹¹ with only rudimentary drainage, without sewerage, with hardly any sanitary awareness, it was an unhealthy city. Its death list at this period ran about 3800 a year, under normal conditions; more when epidemic struck, as in 1832, when yellow fever and cholera swept off 8 per cent of those unable to flee from exposure.¹² But nothing could stay the surge of new population into the great and growing market place which served the waterborne commerce of the Mississippi Valley at a time when railroads were projected as feeders to the river movement.¹³ Already New Orleans was the third American city in size, the second in commerce, and soon would be the first in per capita wealth.

It had, in 1837, fourteen banks, with a paid-in capital of \$40,000,-

¹⁰ "The very water is covered with life," wrote H. Didimus (Edward Henry Durell), who visited the city in 1835, in his *New Orleans As I Found It* (New York, 1845).

¹¹ New Orleans was the dirtiest city in the South, said the *Picayune*, February 1, 1837. On March 5 it referred to "the dead rats, dogs, horses, etc., etc., with which our city abounds"; on March 29, to "the heaps of trash emptied in front of boarding as well as private houses, which after being exposed to the rays of the sun for a few hours, become the source of fever and other diseases"; on June 2 it chronicled that "the sight of the filth and stagnant water along the gutters is becoming rather monotonous to the lovers of variety." The lack of paving increased the problems of a city which is extremely wet and extremely dry by turns. It had been proved, by an experiment in 1817 on Gravier street between Magazine and Tchoupitoulas, that the yielding soil would sustain the weight of surfacing material, but most of the streets were still the mud and dust of their original state. The *Picayune* reported, February 21, 1837, that "no less than twenty horses and drays" were "swamped" in the deep mud at Barracks and Levee (now Decatur) streets; on April 11, after some dry weeks, it reported that "vile clouds of dust" were choking the city, and added, "Never within our recollection have we seen so much dust—such a whirlwind of demolished brickbats and pulverized mud. . . . The clerks and others employed on the levee look more like millers than people engaged in business under the pure canopy of heaven."

¹² After walking through the city's five cemeteries, Didimus, *New Orleans*, commented that the tombs were monuments to youth. Rarely did he see one that indicated fifty years of life. Yellow fever had been in New Orleans, probably, since 1766. Medical science, which prescribed bleeding for nearly every bodily ill except a fracture, did not know how to cope with it, and hoped that the burning of tar in the streets and the firing of cannon would drive away the plague.

¹³ Railroads by 1840 had laid only 2264 miles of track throughout the United States.

000, and an export and import movement totaling, respectively, \$37,179,828 and \$15,117,649. Its Louisiana Sugar Refinery, built in 1832 two miles below Esplanade avenue, turned out 35,000 pounds of refined sugar and 2000 gallons of rum a day; its half-dozen cotton presses struggled to meet the increasing demands; the driving fury of business spread to the 1460 licensed public draymen who lashed their teams through the crowded streets, creating traffic hazards which evoked editorial warnings similar to those called forth by the automobile menace in our own times.

New Orleans was really two cities—one below Canal street, founded by Bienville in 1718, the Vieux Carré of today; the other above Canal street, built by the newcomers who poured down the Mississippi Valley immediately after the Louisiana Purchase. There were still such differences in language, customs, methods, and attitudes, and such bitter rivalries resulting therefrom, that the words "Creole"¹⁴ and "American" were used to distinguish the elements of population.

Inheriting the traditions of a culture that had been founded on the elegancies of Paris when Anglo-Saxon civilization on this continent was as harsh and crude as Milton's berries, the Creoles could not tolerate the roaring coarseness of the American adventurers, the blatant claims of men who debauched Dumaine street to "Main." The Americans had short patience with the social discriminations and business methods they found enshrined in cus-

¹⁴ Creole.—"In the United States, a white person descended from the French or Spanish settlers of Louisiana and the Gulf States, and preserving their characteristic speech and culture." *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, 1938), 623. Says George W. Cable: "The title [Creole] did not here at first belong to the descendants of Spanish; but of French settlers. But such a meaning implied a certain excellence of origin, and so came early to include any native of French or Spanish descent by either parent, whose non-alliance with the slave race entitled him to social rank. Later, the term was adopted by—not conceded to—the natives of mixed blood, and is still so used among themselves. . . . Besides French and Spanish, there are even, for convenience of speech, 'colored' Creoles; but there are no Italian, no Sicilian, nor any English, Scotch, Irish or 'Yankee' Creoles, unless of parentage married into, and themselves thoroughly proselyted in, Creole society." *The Creoles of Louisiana* (New York, 1910), 41-42.

tom. When James H. Caldwell and S. J. Peters, two developers who came with the new order, sought to buy, for subdivision purposes, the plantation of Bernard Xavier de Marigny de Mandeville, which lay below Elysian Fields avenue, he refused to sell; so, cursing the Creoles and all their works, they bought in the "great quagmire" above Canal street. That is why New Orleans took the direction, in its expansion in the early part of the nineteenth century, that it did.

To the lively antagonism between the two elements, the Giquel-Brooks affair of 1836 bore eloquent testimony. Giquel was the scion of a French-Spanish family; Brooks was a member of the Washington Guards, a military organization of the American group.

The men quarreled and Brooks challenged; meeting informally on Royal street, they fought it out and Brooks was killed. Giquel was charged with murder, but was released on \$15,000 bail by Judge Joaquin Bermudez.¹⁵ Members of the Guard, and other "Americans" broke into the judge's home on Bayou Road, near Rampart street, and were met by a blast of pistol fire by the judge and astonishing saber work by his wife, which caused them to retreat precipitately, carrying their wounded.

The Creole city had the courts and city government, which occupied, respectively, the Cabildo and the Presbytère; the water works, which were opposite the French Market of today; and the Gentilly race track; also, the principal business district, which centered upon Chartres street. It had the canal projection of Bayou St. John; this put the large coastwise commerce of Lake Pontchartrain in its back yard, for docks were where the parking area of the Municipal Auditorium now is. But the increasing agitation of the Americans won for their city the Legislature when, ending a two-year exile in Donaldsonville in 1831, it returned to New Orleans and occupied the building which had been the home of Charity Hospital before its removal to Tulane avenue. Caldwell's

¹⁵ His son became a Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court.

American theater on Camp street near Poydras, built in 1823, and his St. Charles theater, the largest and handsomest playhouse in the United States, erected at a cost of \$350,000 in 1835,¹⁶ had already robbed the Creoles of their artistic pre-eminence; and the St. Philip and Orléans theaters which had given New Orleans a sophisticated drama when New York had nothing better than beer-hall entertainment, and had introduced opera to this country in 1809, were now second-fiddle. Calvé's debut in a Creole playhouse in 1837 was their expiring flash. By 1837 the Americans were building the Metairie race track, where the cemetery of the same name now stands; and would finish, next year, the Poydras Market,¹⁷ which would make it unnecessary to go to the Creole city for meat and vegetables. The Americans had already won the gas works, built on their present site; and their New Basin canal, excavated from 1832 to 1835, with terminals opposite today's Union Station, cut into the Creole monopoly of the lake trade. In 1849 a merchant who had moved to New Orleans from Ohio in 1836—Daniel H. Holmes by name—would lead the parade of retail business from Chartres street when he opened the first large mercantile establishment on Canal street.

To the increasing wealth and power of the American element, other large construction bore testimony—Thomas Banks' Arcade, erected in 1833 at Magazine and Natchez streets, the front of today's Board of Trade building group, with offices, lodging apartments, an armory for the Washington Guards, and a barroom capable of containing five thousand persons, according to contemporary enthusiasm; Caldwell's Arcade Baths, adjoining the American theater, to be finished in 1838; the Exchange, or St. Charles, hotel, where the present St. Charles stands, a \$500,000

¹⁶ The first St. Charles theater was on the site of the present St. Charles. Its 12-foot chandelier, on which 23,000 glass drops reflected the light of 176 gas jets, was one of the marvels of the day.

¹⁷ Poydras Market, erected in the center of Poydras street between Fortier and Circus, as Penn and South Rampart were then known, was demolished in 1930.

structure containing 350 rooms; the Verandah hotel opposite, about half the size—both nearing completion in 1837.

The Creoles hoped that the mint, which began to function in 1836, and the \$500,000 St. Louis, or City Exchange, hotel, completed in 1838,¹⁸ would turn the current, but the movement "up-town" had gained too much headway; and they had no such propaganda agency as the American Chamber of Commerce, which met the first Monday of every month to plot new inroads against the established order under the galvanizing leadership of S. J. Peters.

By 1836 the American element had mustered sufficient power to force the division of the city into three political corporations, each headed by a recorder and a board of aldermen. Held together in a loose confederation under a mayor and a general council, which was composed of their councils, these municipalities had full and separate police, tax-administration, and public-improvement powers. The Americans forced in this system so that they could push the development advantages which the Creoles sought to withhold from them. The system was to last for sixteen years.¹⁹

It was a progressive city, was this New Orleans of a hundred years ago. Artificial gas in 1834 modernized the street-lighting system after thirteen years of whale-oil lamps hung at a dozen intersections; and the year after that, a new steam waterworks supplanted the system which had been a great forward step in 1810, with mains of hollowed cypress logs. The waterworks were delivering, in 1837, some 250,000 tons of unfiltered river water a day; but the principal drinking water was the rain-wash from the

¹⁸ The mint was built on the site of old Fort St. Louis. The building is now a Federal jail. The St. Louis hotel was at St. Louis and Royal streets.

¹⁹ The First Municipality, the Creole section, was bounded by lines projected along the middle of Canal street and Esplanade avenue from the Mississippi river to Lake Pontchartrain. The Second Municipality, the American section, extended from Canal street to Lafayette City between the river and Lake Pontchartrain. The Third Municipality, which received the Creole overflow, extended from Esplanade avenue to Lake Borgne between the river and the lake.

roofs, caught in cisterns or aboveground tanks. New Orleans enterprise had built the second railroad line in the United States; with mule and sail power, it began to operate on March 23, 1831, but in 1837 carried 257,573 passengers by steam, and an enormous tonnage of freight. This line was to operate for one year more than a century—the “Smoky Mary” of later generations, which connected New Orleans with Lake Pontchartrain, four and a half miles away. Only New York and Philadelphia could boast of earlier streetcars. The New Orleans system began March 26, 1835—the Carrollton railroad, with horse power from Canal street to what is now Lee Circle, and steam power from there to Carrollton: fares 12½ and 25 cents, respectively. The promoters had hoped to extend this line into the country, possibly as far as Bayou Sara, but had been forced to abandon the plan because of “the inveterate ignorance and prejudice of the planters through whose lands the route would pass,” as *Gibson’s Guide* tells us. That New Orleans interests were even at that early day alive to the importance of railroad development is proved by the strong efforts then being made to float a stock issue for building a line to Mobile—“the New Orleans and Mobile Railroad” was its name. By this means New Orleans hoped to cut the transportation time to New York, which was, in 1840, one week—with luck—by steamboat, train, and stagecoach. That hope, too, died; but eventually this Eastern railroad outlet was built, the Louisville and Nashville Railroad of today, and the foresight of those early promoters was vindicated.

Literacy was low, for it was not until 1841 that the public-school system was founded in Louisiana, evoking gloomy prognostications of “socialism” by the conservatives, who believed that education should be bought with one’s own money. In 1837 New Orleans had a Central school and two primary schools with an enrollment of 190. In 1805 and in 1821 efforts to establish a college had failed. A hopeful sign, however, was the opening of the Medical College of Louisiana, January 1, 1835. It had six students. This was the seed that was to grow into Tulane University. The century-

old Ursuline convent, the four-year old Carmelite school, and various Catholic organizations offered elementary teaching to limited numbers.²⁰ There were, of course, private schools for those who could afford to pay for such a luxury.

Crime flourished—a condition which the same conservatives laid at the door of transients.²¹ There had been, however, some improvement in the vice situation. True, the “Girod Street Swamp” still flourished, half a dozen blocks of barrooms, gambling dens and bordellos, but not with the abandon of former years when policemen did not dare set foot within it; and the short Gallatin street, which is now buried under the French Market, would project its concentration of brothels beyond the War Between the States; but the city’s tempo was no longer set by gamblers who pitched their games, with the sanction of the law, on the principal street corners, and by ruffians who were allowed to bury their own dead without any accounting.²²

²⁰ In other parts of the state were the College of Louisiana, in Jackson, incorporated in 1825; Jefferson College, in St. James parish, 1831; and Franklin College, in Opelousas, 1831. Families with means sent their sons to the North or to Europe to be educated.

²¹ *Gibson’s Guide* says that of the 44 admissions to the penitentiary in 1837, only 3 were native Louisianians; not one of the 26 who were discharged was a native. But, making no distinction between home and imported talent, the editor of the *Picayune* on May 6, 1837, announced for the benefit of the “loafers, thieves, cutthroats, vagabonds and all their kind and kin who are in the habit of prowling about and infesting” the streets at night, that he carried a large and copiously loaded pistol in each hand when he walked home after putting the paper to bed.

²² Colonel James R. Creecy’s “A Duel in New Orleans in 1829,” in *Scenes in the South* . . . (Washington, 1860), 275–76, paints the picture:

Have you ever been in New Orleans? If not, you’d better go,
It’s a nation of a queer place; day and night a show!
Frenchmen, Spaniards, West Indians, Creoles, Mustees,
Yankees, Kentuckians, Tennesseans, lawyers and trustees,
Clergymen, priests, friars, nuns, women of all stains;
Negroes in purple and fine linen, and slaves in rags and chains.
Ships, arks, steamboats, robbers, pirates, alligators,
Assassins, gamblers, drunkards, and cotton speculators;
Sailors, soldiers, pretty girls, and ugly fortune-tellers;
Pimps, imps, shrimps, and all sorts of dirty fellows;
White men with black wives, *et vice versa* too.
A progeny of all colors—an infernal motley crew!

Dueling had been for some years a capital crime, but even the best element scorned that law. Symbolical of their attitude was the man they chose for mayor—flashing Denis Prieur, who had run his man through the body on the field of honor.

Personal differences went to the immediate arbitrament of the duel, formal or informal. The Creoles preferred the elegance of the rapier, the Americans the certitude of the pistol.

Lafayette Square, with its gracious trees, was the pleasantest playground in the city. For the grownups, the levee was the principal promenade. True, it had lost the sylvan charm of former years, for the willows, oaks, and orange trees had disappeared under the inexorable drive of commerce; but it had acquired an aroma of entrancing variety from the piled-up products of the Mississippi Valley. It was, moreover, the driest part of the city, being the highest ground; and the river breezes, on moonlight nights, invited romantic strollers.

For those who could not afford their own carriages, there were seventy-three "elegant hacks" which would carry one to any point within the city proper for fifty cents, and would take one for twelve blocks into the "suburbs" for another fifty cents. The rates were

Yellow fever in February—muddy streets all the year;
 Many things to hope for, and a dev'lish sight to fear!
 Gold and silver bullion—United States' bank-notes,
 Horse-racers, cock-fighters, and beggars without coats.
 Snapping-turtles, sugar, sugar-houses, water-snakes,
 Molasses, flour, whisky, tobacco, corn and johnny-cakes,
 Beef, cattle, hogs, pork, turkeys, Kentucky rifles,
 Lumber, boards, apples, cotton, and many other trifles.
 Butter, cheese, onions, wild beasts in wooden cages,
 Barbers, waiters, draymen, with the highest sort of wages.
 Now and then there are *Duels*, for very little cause,
 The natives soon forget 'em—they care not much for laws.

The pirates had disappeared many years before, and there was no yellow fever after frost killed the germ-carrying mosquito, though no doubt there was a bountiful supply of other ailments in February to keep the people from feeling neglected. But these be minor slips in a picture dashinglv vivid and of satisfying detail, as projected through the eyes of an outsider.

established by law. The "city proper" was the area bounded by the river, Poydras street, St. Claude avenue, and Elysian Fields avenue.

Dinner parties, the theater, and balls provided the more formal diversions. Dinner parties usually began at three o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until after sundown. They were hearty repasts, to which women carried no slenderizing worries. Didimus comments on the *embonpoint*, in face and figure, of the day's beauties. After the dessert the women retired to the parlor for coffee and gossip; the men remained at the table to discuss politics, to drink, and to gamble. For the Creoles the high point of the week was Sunday night, at the opera. The Americans preferred their entertainment "straight," that is, without lyrical elaboration. The length of the programs tells us that endurance was great in those days. For instance, in the *Picayune's* first issue, the American, or Camp Street, theater billed Mrs. Knight and Mr. Hodges in *Cinderella*, a grand medley dance, Venetian statues, and Mrs. Lewis in the title role of *Don Juan*; the St. Charles, John Payne Howard's comedy *Charles II*, the farce *Twice Killed*, some minor divertissement, and the opera *Rosina*. The balls of the period began early and lasted until morning, functions as stately as the manners of the period, as stiff as the styles.

Thirty yards of material went into a woman's formal garb. The skirts had their greatest width at the bottom, and sloped sharply to the waist, which was drawn in by such tight lacing that the *Picayune* on May 9, 1837, warned women they were incurring the possibility of ninety-six "diseases," and begged them to "dress like Turks," that is, baggily. The voluminous spread of the skirt was achieved by layer upon layer of stiffly starched petticoats, the increasing weight of which brought forth the invention of hoops some twenty years later. A scarf of cashmere, silk, or lace enhanced the glow of bare shoulders happily escaping from the tight bodice; and, for outside wear, a pelerine or short cape with sweeping

points provided warmth and chic. Shoes were low in heel and generous in size, and were shamelessly revealed, for the skirt hem had generous clearance; but frilly pantalettes held the gaze close to the ground. The hair was dressed high, and sometimes braided with strings of gold beads; bonnets were flat-crowned, clung close to the face, and were held in place by broad ribbons which were tied, with a large bow, under the chin.

The men wore long-tailed, form-fitting coats, dark in color, with enormous collars; light-colored, creaseless trousers held down by straps which passed under the shoe;²³ waistcoats which rivaled the autumn forest in brilliance and diversity of color; and ponderous beaver hats. Here and there one might see the recently invented opera hat, a Parisian creation.

The outside world belonged to man. Woman's place was the home, and her formal education was sketchy or worse, according to today's standards; but from early girlhood she was trained in the details of home management of which the modern woman has no idea. It is true that the better-off women had many slaves or servants to do their bidding, but they had to know plain and fancy needlework, cooking, preserving, cheese-making, and candle-molding; they had to see that clothes were washed and ironed in the proper way; on even the dusting and sweeping of their mansions they had to keep a watchful eye. They had to know quality and values, for they bought everything the home consumed, and they did not have the assistance of standardization. They were kept occupied from morning to night.

The *Picayune's* first home was on Gravier street opposite Banks' Arcade.²⁴ Editorial, business, and mechanical departments occupied a room with a floor space of 168 square feet. The first issue consisted of four pages, each with four columns of type. The col-

²³ These strap-trousers, a French idea, were discouraging to the shoe business, according to the *Picayune* of April 23, 1839, because no one could try on new shoes without undressing.

²⁴ At 38 Gravier street, old number. This building disappeared years ago.

umns were fifteen picas— $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches—wide, and $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long on the first page, an inch longer on the other pages.²⁵

In that first *Picayune* there were 228 column inches of type, most of it six point; of this, 136 inches were editorial matter, the rest, advertisements.

The paper was made up as follows: Page 1—five-inch poem entitled "Winter is Coming," nearly two columns of fiction clipped from the New York *Mirror*, a column and a half of advertisements; Page 2—three quarters of a column of editorial salutatory, or prospectus, half a column of playful irony about the condition of the city's streets, a column of theatrical notes, with heavy emphasis upon the reception of Forrest's Othello in London, the rest, filler material, that is, jokes and short paragraphs; Page 3—letter written during the Irish insurrection of 1738, a third of a column; half a column of police reports of Baltimore for December 31, 1836, and January 1, 1837; two and a half columns of scissored material; the rest, advertisements; Page 4—all advertisements. At display, there was no attempt. Editorial matter was headed by body-type capitals; advertisements were cast in reader form, with first lines emphasized by initial letters and blackface, sometimes larger than the body type.

The first newspaper in New Orleans to sell for less than a dime, the *Picayune* was named from the Spanish silver coin, the half real or $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents.²⁶ That was the street price of the *Picayune*. The subscription price was 25 cents a week, \$2.50 for three months, and no subscriptions were accepted for longer than three months. The advertising rate was \$1 for ten body-type lines, which filled one column inch, for the first insertion, 50 cents for each subsequent insertion.

²⁵ A standard newspaper column of today is twelve picas—two inches—wide and $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches long; a page has eight columns. The *Bee* of that period printed nine-column pages, each column $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by $30\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

²⁶ The word "picayune" is of doubtful origin. It is ascribed by philologists to (a) the Carib Indians, (b) the French, a derivative of the Provençal "piaïoun," and (c) the Italian, a derivative of "piccolo."

Two carriers delivered, that rainy Wednesday, eight hundred of the thousand copies printed. One of those carriers may have been the man who fell into the excavation, but we do not know.

"The *Picayune* will be built of the best materials," promised the prospectus.²⁷

Next day they disposed of every copy—so ran the editors' boast.

Thus did the new type of journalism—the penny press of the East which stemmed from Benjamin H. Day's New York *Sun* and James Gordon Bennett's New York *Herald* in 1833 and 1835—challenge the South in 1837 at the New Orleans gateway.

True, the *Picayune* sold for more than did those papers, but prices in New Orleans were higher than in the East, and the 6¼ cents paid in that city was as sensational a reduction as the one cent paid in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In format—much smaller than the mercantile papers of the time; and in treatment of news—brief articles, light in tone, flippant sometimes, and with heavy emphasis upon human appeal—the spirit was the same. It was this spirit no less than the price that won so many readers for newspapers and put the newspaper in the household-necessity class.

Up to the arrival of the penny press, newspapers were heavy publications, confected principally for the businessmen of the communities, the big businessmen. Their principal editorial concern centered upon politics. They cost \$8 to \$10 a year, and publishers paid no attention to street sales. The majority of the people, therefore, lacked the larger outlook and the wider interest that comes from newspaper reading, and took their political views from the moneyed classes. The new journalism sought out the man in the street, and so became one of the strongest educational factors and most powerful democratizing influences in the country. As the

²⁷ The "Prospectus of the *Picayune*," in the opening issue, reflected the spirit of the new publication—a gay note in the solemn dirge of contemporary journalism. This light and human method was to make the newspaper "take" immediately, and mark a turning point in journalism in the South. Too long to reproduce here, the "Prospectus" is given in Appendix A.

Philadelphia *Public Ledger* said, March 25, 1836, the circulation figures of the penny press indicated "a newspaper in the hands of every man . . . and even of every boy old enough to read." So it was to be in New Orleans after the *Picayune* carried the movement into the South.²⁸

²⁸ The first revolt against the high-cost mercantile press of the last century was Seba Smith's *Daily Courier* of Portland, Maine, which was founded in 1829. The subscription rate was \$4 a year. Lynde M. Walter founded the Boston *Transcript* in 1830, Charles G. Greene the Boston *Morning Post* in 1833, Captain John S. Sleeper the Boston *Mercantile Journal* in 1833—all at reduced subscription rates. These were the forerunners of the penny press. Horace Greeley on January 1, 1833, brought out the New York *Morning Post*, which sold on the street for two cents; it failed in less than three weeks. Benjamin H. Day's New York *Sun*, which first appeared September 3, 1833, in a 7½ by 10-inch format, and sold for one cent, was the first successful penny newspaper. It ran up its circulation to 5000 in four months. James Gordon Bennett launched the New York *Herald*, May 6, 1835, at one cent, but next year raised the price to two cents. Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore brought out successful penny newspapers in the 1830's. For a fuller discussion see Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*; . . . (New York, 1941), 215-52.

Struggle

THE MEN who brought forth the *Picayune* were Francis Asbury Lumsden and George Wilkins Kendall. Their families were poor in this world's goods, but of sound stock and substantial background. Apprenticed at an early age to the type cases, the boys gained most of their education in the school of printing which had touched with life the genius of Franklin and many another, and was to kindle the fires in Mark Twain, then a sickly boy two years old. Both were to go far in public service: Lumsden on the Municipal Council and in the Legislature of his adopted city and state, member of the Board of Administrators of the Public Schools and of the House of Refuge of New Orleans, one of the organizers of the city's Continental Guards, and a colonel on the staff of the Governor; Kendall as a trail breaker when newspaper publishing was as unexplored as the Mississippi Valley, as a war correspondent and writer, and as a pioneer in the development of Texas which named a county after him.¹

Lumsden was born in North Carolina in 1800, Kendall in Amherst, New Hampshire, in 1808. Lumsden worked for Joseph Gales, editor of the Raleigh *Observer*, and one of the more prom-

¹ A monument to Kendall, erected in 1936 on the highway near Boerne, county seat of Kendall county, Texas, carries the inscription: "Kendall county, erected January 10, 1862, organized February, 1862. Named in honor of George Wilkins Kendall, 1809-1867, poet, journalist, author and farmer, one of the founders of the New Orleans *Picayune*, member of the Santa Fé expedition, most successful sheep raiser in the Southwest."

inent journalists of his time; and on the *National Intelligencer* in Washington, to which he gave nine years.

Kendall worked on the *Telegraph* in Washington, on the *Register* in Mobile, and with Horace Greeley in New York. Since Greeley did not found the *Tribune* until 1841, Kendall's association with him must have been in a job-printing shop. He also worked on the *National Intelligencer*, and it was then that his association with Lumsden began. They liked each other from the first; and when the land of opportunity beckoned, they went together to New Orleans. This was in 1835. They had no difficulty finding work there as compositors. Within a year both rose to the position of foreman—Lumsden in the office of the *Standard*, a failing newspaper, and Kendall in the job department of the *True American*. A year later they pooled their small savings and large ambition to launch the *Picayune*.

It was an ideal partnership. Both men were warm-natured, tactful, cheerful in disposition; so the danger of friction would be minimized, and there would always be courage in meeting the problems which assault every new business and were to be especially vicious during the next few years in New Orleans. But their value to each other went beyond the personal. Lumsden was of the steady, organizing type; Kendall was the eager seeker for new ideas and new methods. In their partnership, Lumsden became the senior editor, on whom most of the executive responsibility rested, and Kendall the explorer, who found new interests for the reading public which had long suffered under the stodgy journalism of the time. Either without the other might have failed.

The equipment with which they entered the publishing business consisted of about five hundred pounds of body type, a handful of italic, some small blackface which served the purpose of display type, five pairs of type cases, three type stands, four or five composing sticks, an imposing stone, two chases, about ten galleys, some type furniture, a hand bellows, a wash basin, a pitcher, a broom, a table, and two chairs. No press.

But, as they were good printers, we may assume that their plant, except in the lack of a press, met the printing requirements of the time. Typographically, their paper equaled the best of the current competition.

They employed three printers; but when they were not writing news, soliciting advertisements, and seeking subscriptions, they too stood at the cases and stuck type, for the task of filling the *Picayune's* 228 column inches every day, even making allowance for the standing matter, was a heavy one.² When the forms were made up, they were carried to a job shop for printing.

The paper went to press at thirty minutes after midnight, as we learn from the issue of April 27. It took from then until the morning to run off even the edition of one thousand, with which the *Picayune* began, for printing was slow, and only one side of the sheet could be printed at a time; and then the paper had to be folded by hand.³

Several months after its founding, the *Picayune* put in its own press. It was a Washington hand press, even more rudimentary in design and considerably slower than the one in the job shop.

The dreadful weather of the launching was only the beginning of the struggle. Three days later the *Picayune* reported an earthquake, at press time, which pried half a column of type and broke

² In those days, a printer did well to set as much type in a day as a machine-operator does in an hour now. After being set, the type had to be assembled, a few lines at a time, in page form and locked in place with wooden wedges, called quoins, so that the thousands of pieces of metal would hold together when the form was carried from the imposing stone to the press. Nowadays, a make-up man picks up as many solid lines of type as he can grasp between thumb and finger, and slams them into a column. A turn on three screws, and the form is locked, ready for making the matrix from which the printing surface is cast in one piece.

³ The *Bee*, February 9, 1837, advertised for sale a press "constructed on the latest and most improved plan," for which a speed of 700 impressions an hour was claimed. The steam-operated cylinder press installed in the London *Times* plant in 1814 had a capacity of only 1100 impressions an hour, and that mechanical efficiency had not yet reached New Orleans, where a man on a crank was the power. The most popular press on the market in 1837 was a cylinder design which had been brought out by R. Hoe and Company five years before; the paper was fed by hand, sheet by sheet, and only one side could be printed at a time. Six to eight hundred impressions an hour was good speed.

the pitcher. Then there was a strike of printers, who demanded that their weekly earnings of \$20 to \$30 be increased 25 per cent. Because of this the *Picayune* missed its issue of March 14. One printer, during this agitation, committed suicide. Then the panic of 1837—or the “pressure,” as the euphemistic termed it—began to get in its real licks.

This panic was precipitated by the frenzied speculation of the period. In the heady optimism of the day, banks advanced heavily against the cotton crop long before a seed was put into the ground.

“Until within a day or so,” reported the *Picayune* on April 14, “we were called upon to report but one or two suspensions a day. Now they come on us in platoons.”

Business failures in New Orleans by April 19, according to current estimates, had passed \$120,000,000. By May 14 the banks suspended metallic payment, and were not to resume until December 24, 1838.

To meet the situation New Orleans improvised a currency of promissory notes, issued by business houses and municipal authorities. These were the “bones” of current slang—a corruption of the French *bon pour*.

Flour went to \$15 a barrel, meat to 25 cents a pound, ice to 5 cents a pound. These were more than double the former prices. Fire scourged the city, the work of arsonists who thus opened the way to plunder. “Yesterday,” said the *Picayune* on April 9, “there was almost a ceaseless alarm of fire.” Yellow fever, which the language-sensitive called “acclimatizing fever,” burst into epidemic, and by August 31, the *Picayune* was reporting “seventy-five to a hundred” deaths a day. We sense the dread which possessed the city in the *Picayune*’s reference to “men eating a hearty breakfast in the morning and being called to their last home before the sun sets the same day.” One by one, the *Picayune*’s printers were stricken. By September 16 only Lumsden and Kendall were left to get out the paper. Ten days later Kendall was down.

Business, of course, went to pot. Some of the long-established

dailies dropped to triweekly publication. The *Picayune* did not miss an issue. From August 16 to November, however, it changed to afternoon publication so that—according to its explanation—during the hot, discouraging months, readers could devote the comparatively pleasant mornings to their necessary tasks and read the paper when they had nothing else to do.

Through these depressing months the *Picayune* showed steady increase. Not three months old, it was admitted to the publishers' agreement of March 10, by which the subscription rate was raised from \$10 to \$12 a year, and the advertising rate was stabilized at \$1 a square, or one column inch, for the first insertion, 50 cents for each subsequent insertion, double for "advertisements of a personal nature,"⁴ theater cards \$100 for the season.

Circulation climbed to 1500, then to 1800, then to 2500. No "horse-blanket paper" equaled that distribution, exulted the *Picayune*. The "horse blankets" were the old, established papers which printed on enormous sheets. On April 29 the *Picayune* announced it could accept no more subscriptions—the press could not turn out enough papers. It did not lift this ban until August 12.

Advertising volume swelled. Tiny cuts of buildings, steamboats, ships, runaway slaves, locomotives, trees, galloping horses, carriages, and phrenological charts took the place of large type as attention-getters. By midsummer only Page 2 was left for news.

On July 12, the *Picayune* moved from its 12 by 14-foot room on Gravier street to larger quarters on the lower part of Magazine street. The old number of this structure was 74. Before three months passed, it would have to seek still larger quarters, and add two men to the staff, a printer and a reporter.

⁴ Here is a mild illustration of an advertisement of a "personal nature," copied from the *Picayune* of April 25, 1837: "The gentleman who picked up a white lap dog in Perdido street, yesterday, with its hind quarters shaved, bushy tail and head, is requested to send the same to this office immediately, if not his name will be exposed.

"N.B. The above gentleman went into a house on Conti street, not far from Burgundy."

It was then the custom for men to accuse each other of outrageous deeds, in print—a privilege for which they paid a premium on the regular advertising rates. Some of these publications led to killings. No one, apparently, thought of suing the newspapers.

Bitterly did the competition resent the *Picayune's* success. From sniping at typographical errors and mistakes in grammar, the attack warmed to insinuations against the motives and personal honor of the editors. The *Picayune* retorted with vigor, on occasion, but for the most part maintained an attitude of satiric amusement.⁵ On Locofoco politics, the exchanges between the *Picayune* and the *Bee* were especially acidulous.⁶ This literary skirmishing culminated in the pummeling of Lumsden, October 27, by Publisher J. Bayon of the *Bee*, while a friend held Lumsden's arms. "Dastardly, mean and the worst of cowardice," said Kendall's editorial next morning. The *Bee*, it added, was "a rotten, abusive concern."

The enterprise of the new publishers organized a pony express to beat the slow and uncertain mails from the East. We should

⁵ One of the more humorous references to the press of the day was contained in the *Picayune* of January 7, 1838. It compared the newspapers to animals in the menagerie of Waring's Circus, then showing at Royal and Hospital (Governor Nicholls) streets, as follows:

"First, the huge elephant reminded us of the *Bee*, carrying on its broad back the whole patronage of the state, the post office, the First and Third Municipalities, and no objections to engross the Second too.

"The *Bulletin* was represented by the camel—for as the one traverses the desert day after day without water, so does the other continue its dry and uninteresting journey without anything refreshing to the spirits.

"The *Courier*, like the zebra, is perfectly docile except when irritated.

"The *Observer* is similar to the rhinoceros, of which Job says that by his sneezing a light doth shine.

"We looked about for some animal bearing a resemblance to the editor who styles himself Faithful and Bold, but could find nothing exactly the thing. The busy, bustling, ever-moving, care-for-nothing propensities of the untamed hyena came near the mark; but this animal has characteristics which we are far from laying at the door of the editor of the *True American*. He borders on the lion with a small sprinkling of the hyena."

The *Advertiser* had recently been burned out.

⁶ The Locofocos were a wing of the Democratic party. They were named after the sulphur match, then a novelty of poignant odor, by the light of which the New York meeting of the group had shaped a platform when the gas was turned off. The *Picayune*, on January 21, 1838, gave this humorous derivation of locofoco: "[It] is a Latin word, derived from the English. *Lo* is an abbreviation of the English word *low*. *Co* is well known as an abbreviation of *company*, and *fo* is frequently used instead of *fellow* by the corrupt. Join all together, and we have a *low company of fellows*. This means the *rag-tag and bobtail* of Shakespeare's time, and in the plain Anglo-Salt River tongue is nothing more nor less than a *pack of d—d loafers*."

like to know more about this first pony express, but the details have been lost. The service seems to have started about October 20, for on that date the *Picayune* headed its news page with a one-column cut of a horse galloping away from the field—the *Bee* and the *Bulletin*, which were the principal competition, as a paragraph explained; its rider carried a banner with the device, “For *The Picayune*—You’re too late.” The paper satirized the mail service, by which the competition was served, with an illustration showing a Negro, a mule, and a two-wheeled dump cart labeled “Cornmeal Express.” The *Picayune* made the satire more pointed by playing up the ancient news which the Cornmeal Express delivered. This column, for a time, was one of the delights of the paper, and helped to establish the *Picayune* in the minds of its readers, not only as an enterprising organization, but also as a lively and humorous publication.

That cut of October 20, by the way, was the first editorial art used in the *Picayune*. The technical might call it a cartoon. Decades would pass before either development was consistently pushed.

Goaded by the *Picayune* and spurred to improvement by demands from other directions, the government, by July 1, 1839, reduced the mail schedule between New Orleans and New York to nine days. This was amazing, for the time. The *Picayune* no longer needed the pony express and discontinued it.

To the broader interpretation of news values, to the brevity of its stories, to its humorous slant, and to the freedom of the publishers from political entanglements, as well as their fearlessness and the good nature of their criticisms, the *Picayune* owed its swift and solid success.

Rarely did that newspaper devote more than half a column to any one subject. This was a blessed relief from the journalism of the day, which ran on and on and got nowhere. Only on such large and controversial issues as dueling did the *Picayune* run more than a column.

Some of the news was naïve. At that time everybody was supposed to know what had happened in his own community, so news appraisals stressed the distant. Day by day the editors of the *Picayune* compiled from their exchanges, which might be ten days old, such foreign gleanings as these, to summarize from the issue of May 3: The sultan was planning to establish a naval base near Constantinople; the empress of Austria had the grippe; the queen of Portugal was *enceinte*; the bandit Schubry, in Hungary, had shot himself; there had been a fire in the palace at Naples; Louis Philippe of France was in good health; and such eventuations in the United States as Baltimore's more conspicuous crimes. But news like this was a great advance in human interest over the political polemics and the commercial compendiums with which other editors assaulted their readers. Quick recognition of the value of the short paragraph, with a personal-appeal fillip, came from a literary publication in Georgia, which opened a department called "Picayuneana," into which it lifted copious quotations.

Early in its life the *Picayune* began to question the news evaluations which ignored the local. For instance, on June 13 it reported: "On Sunday night, a man deliberately walked out of the third story of a house in St. Joseph street, and very shortly afterwards landed on the pavement below. We have not understood whether the man who performed this feat was in his senses or no, or whether he was much injured by the movement."

On February 7, New Orleans had a Mardi Gras celebration on a basis approaching the organized solidarity of recent years. This was due to the efforts of Bernard Marigny, who saw delectable possibilities in such pageants as Mobile's Cowbellions had been presenting on New Year's Eve since 1831. The other papers ignored this move of New Orleans in the bigger-and-better direction; but not the *Picayune*. Next day it ran this story:

"A lot of masqueraders were parading through our streets yesterday, and excited considerable speculation as to who they were, what were their motives and what upon earth could induce them

to turn out in such grotesque and outlandish habiliments. Some said they were Seminoles; some that it was the Zoological Institute come to town; some that it was Brown's Circus—while others said nothing, and very likely knew nothing at all about it. Boys, negroes, fruit women and what not followed the procession—shouting and bawling, and apparently highly delighted with the fuss, or what is more probable, anxious to fill their pockets with various sugar plums, kisses, oranges, etc., which were lavishly bestowed upon them by these good-hearted jokers, whoever they were. For ourselves, we hardly saw them; but for the noise and tumult they made, we concluded that it was a cowbellion society, turned loose in the streets to practise their harsh and discordant music.

“The whole affair would have passed off well enough had it not been for the useless and unnecessary fears excited among some of the elderly ladies, old maids and such like, who inhabit our quiet and peaceful portion of the city, who, unused to such a horrid noise and din, were all but frightened out of their wits. One poor woman in particular, thinking that the millennium had come at last, went off into violent hysterics: another was seized with a violent conniption fit, produced from the same cause, from which, however, she has since happily recovered. Some other trifling occurrences of a similar nature took place, but nothing serious that we have yet learned.

“N.B. The city is now (11 o'clock at night) perfectly quiet.”

Both by direct comment and under the guise of fiction, the *Picayune* exposed sham, pretentiousness, and injustice, and pointed the way to many corrections. Little of the day's humbuggery escaped its observation. Many of these sketches are of high literary value, but they do not register with today's readers because their implications registered only with those who had the proper background, and so it would be a waste of space to quote. The satire was so pleasant that no one could take serious offense, and the observations were so apt that even if the subject did not join in the general laugh, he saw the advantages of silence. One Robert McNair, for

instance, a man who had a deep reverence for his own dignity, felt himself outraged to the point of threatening gunplay, but was guffawed out of his lethal leanings.

One of the *Picayune's* largest and most consistent advertisers, under the standing headline "Important to the Afflicted," extolled the virtues of Dr. Evans' Camomile Pills. On February 15, 1838, the *Picayune's* news columns presented a mock testimonial, under the same arresting head, about a new "universal pill," a "grand, horizontal, double-cylinder, fluted, patent-ribbed, screw-barreled pill," of which it said: "One single pill worn in each pocket will instantly give ease and elasticity to the highest pantaloons . . . create an appetite in the most delicate stomach, or physic a horse. . . . [It] cures St. Anthony's fire, St. Vitus dance, thrush in children, pip in hens, blind staggers in horses, and nightmares in owls." A box of these pills would even "cure the lethargy" of the Louisiana Legislature. This compares with the best in Mark Twain's earlier style.

Typical of the *Picayune's* method when it sought to stimulate improvement by gentle ridicule was the article in its first issue describing certain unsavory conditions on Canal street:

"Much has been said, and more written, respecting our progressive improvement in matters of utility; but few have noticed the rapid strides we are making towards perfection in things of ornament; we therefore take a pride and pleasure in directing the public attention to the establishments which distinguish one of our promenades; we allude to the center of Canal street; and more especially to that portion of it between Camp and Levee streets.

"The first objects that strike the eye, are a quantity of iron tubes scattered about in picturesque confusion; and so disposed as not to weary the sight with monotonous uniformity. Some people have imagined that they were intended to lay *under* instead of *on* the ground, but from the length of time which has elapsed since they were planted, it is possible that they were meant to grow there.

"As shell roads are considered to be the most compact, smooth

and clean, pretty little piles of oyster-shells are ingeniously fraternized here and there, interspersed with choice specimens of broken crockery, not quite so regular as mosaic work, but still forming a very interesting walk, to those who are partial to that sort of thing. There are very few at an advanced time of life, or even in middle age, who do not estimate the value of *old* associations; and to these we recommend the contemplation of old shoes, old rags, and many other aged individuals, that have no other asylum.

"Cleanliness is conducive to health—washing promotes cleanliness—and Canal street ensures washing. Let those who slander our city by doubting its health, go there on a drying day, and see how white the shirts swell with indignation.

"We have heard that nothing is more delightful, cool and refreshing, than to sit under the ample shade of green trees—to feel the fanning of the south wind—and see the verdant carpet made by nature, spread under your feet. This may be very well at the North, where they need protection against the summer's sun; but would anyone think of removing those plank-protected plants which grace the street? It would be an insult to the *dead*.

"There are a few persons with more tongue than taste, who say the iron pipes should be converted into iron railing to enclose the squares—that remnants of oyster-shells, fractured crockery, deserted shoes, and assassinated rats should be superseded by gravelled walks, green plats, a *jet d'eau*, and the like; but we shall not believe such alterations to be improvements until we see them. In the meantime, it is our private opinion, that such experiments, however quixotical they may appear, are worth the trial."

The *Picayune*, however, pulled no punches when the evil called for vigorous attack. Of the banks it said on May 14 when it announced the suspension of metallic payment, that they "have all along been playing an iniquitous game." They were organized, it said, on a robber-baron basis.

On July 19 the people of New Orleans were stunned to read in

the columns of this newspaper, not yet six months old, that the *Code Duello*, one of the sacrosanct institutions of New Orleans, "disgraces the worst annals of barbarism." Duels, it said with fine contempt on July 29, were "as common these days as water-melons."⁷

Friends of the survivor in the duel which evoked the newspaper's outburst charged the *Picayune* with "unfairness"; the *True American* and the *Herald* thundered that dueling reduced the number of barroom brawls; they urged that the death percentage was small.

The *Picayune*, on July 20, reasserted that dueling was a "barbarous custom"; next day it said that "murders and assassinations are as common in this country as in others to which gentlemen point as an example in favor of the argument they offer to propagate and sustain duelling." It went on to say that dueling was "a public evil" and "a curse," and "the laws forbid it."

The *Picayune* then made pointed reference to the unpaid bills of certain gentlemen who laid so much stress on "honor."

Devoting an increasing amount of space to the crusade, the newspaper threw ridicule on the sacred custom by reporting, on July 25 and October 23, two duels by Negroes. One of the participants, a slave, was killed. "The hero of this affair," said the *Picayune*, "is proud of his deed."

⁷ The duel which touched off the *Picayune*'s outburst, it reported on July 18 in these words: "A duel was fought with rifles by two citizens of this place a few miles from town on Sunday evening last. After exchanging three shots, one of the party fell and died instantly. The deceased was a cotton broker in this city and highly esteemed by all who knew him. His survivor parades the streets, fearless of the law, in proud defiance. As an esteemed friend has promised us a communication on this unhappy affair, we forbear making any remarks until to-morrow.

"A friend has informed us that another duel was fought on the battleground below the city on last Sunday morning by two Frenchmen—one of them received the ball of his antagonist in the brain and died as he fell to the ground."

From the information furnished by "Lycurgus," who was the "esteemed friend," the *Picayune*, on July 19, violated its brevity rule and devoted nearly a column to an attack on dueling. We get a realizing sense of the dueling situation of the day in the *Picayune*'s statement on Saturday, July 29: "Since Monday last, we have heard of five different duels. . . . We learn a dozen more are on hand."

And on July 26 it presented the farce of the Mississippi pokeberry duel: neither pistol had contained ball, but copious smearings of the juice of that weedy plant on the face of the man who fell at the exchange of fire caused his antagonist to flee the country.

The sensible element of society—especially the women—applauded the *Picayune's* stand; and, though dueling continued, the seed that would yield the slow fruit of reform had been planted by the newspaper's fearless statement of facts.

An immediate result of the crusade was the organization of the sport of rowing. The *Picayune* supported this development of the outdoor-sports idea because it gave the young men something to think of besides "billiard-playing, drinking and duelling." The first regatta was held on the Mississippi river off Carrollton, January 7, 1839, when one New Orleans and two Mobile entries competed. The New Orleans craft was third. The *Picayune* reported that the time was 19 minutes, 25 seconds, but was unable to give the distance.

By October in that year of struggle—1837—cool weather had routed the yellow fever mosquitoes, the refugee population had begun to return, and New Orleans was back in the seasonal drive of business, which not even the panic could destroy. The *Picayune* again counted a full staff, Lumsden had caught an eighty-three pound catfish, and the newspaper had begun its forty-year spelling of the word "contemporary" without an "n." Internal evidence suggests that the senior editor was responsible for this vagary in orthography, at least in the *Picayune*; but many another at this period spelled the word in that way. The fame of the new paper had spread so far that a steamboat builder in Pittsburgh named his new craft after it. The *Picayune*, established "in one of the new granite buildings on Camp street, No. 72," nearly opposite the American theater, and renamed the *Daily Picayune*, on November 1 resumed morning publication in an enlarged format, opened a "splendid job office," and was laying plans for the *Weekly Picayune* which it would bring out February 26, 1838.

In its new dress, the *Daily Picayune* had five columns to the page, each column thirteen picas wide ⁸ and 14½ inches long on Page 1, 15½ on the other three pages: total, 305 column inches.

This was a 35 per cent enlargement in nine months' time. The extra space was almost immediately absorbed by advertisements. Only Page 2, and not all of that, was left for news and editorials.

⁸ Two and one-sixth inches. There are six picas to the inch.

Flashes

NEW ORLEANS, it is true, established the tradition of culture when the other colonies on this continent still had the frontier outlook. This was in the eighteenth century. But the elegance of the nineteenth century far transcended that of the eighteenth. It was this century which brought in the Anglo-Saxon element, as we may term it, to build upon the foundations of the Latin.

The promise was not large, at first. The roaring rush of rivermen, backwoodsmen, and pioneers, after Louisiana went under the American flag, seemed a step backward. But a more substantial citizenship followed this invasion. The preponderance of English names over French in the organization of the semipublic or public libraries after 1806 emphasizes the cultural importance of this new population.

In its first issue the *Picayune* carried a prospectus of "The Commercial News and Reading Room of the *True American* . . . a library composed of several hundred volumes of the best authors . . . [and] the reviews and other literary periodicals of the United States and Europe." This library was operated on a fee basis until 1842, when it was bought by E. F. French and made free. By 1846 this, the city's first public library, contained 7500 volumes. On May 6, 1840, J. A. Noble, a bookdealer, announced the opening of a library "with upwards of 3000 volumes"; and on November 29, 1844, the *Daily Picayune* editorially praised the launching of a

movement to create the New Orleans City Library for the benefit of school children. It was opened in City Hall early in 1846 with more than 3000 volumes.¹

New Orleans' book business during this period seems to have been large and profitable. There is no record of a bookdealer's failure, even during the panic of 1837, one of the worst financial earthquakes in the history of this country. A news item on March 29, 1842, relates that a man in a bookselling establishment absconded with \$30,000.

Apparently nothing came of the *Daily Picayune's* proposal of February 6, 1839, that the young men of New Orleans organize a literary society, which, fostering the "spirit of amiable fraternity," might act as somewhat of an antidote against the dueling virus; but the advertisements, the reviews, and the references in the early columns of that tiny newspaper reflected the strong literary tastes of New Orleans and Louisiana. These tell us that the most widely read British authors were Dickens, Bulwer, and Marryat; French—Hugo, Dumas, and Sue; American—Cooper, Irving, Poe, Longfellow, Bryant, and Hawthorne.

Dickens led the field in the number of quotations. Sam Weller's dialect and whimsical expression started a vogue. The *Daily Picayune* became noted for the type of pleasantry known as "Wellerisms." Samples: "It's a family dinner, as the hen said ven she swallowed the nest of ants." "Necessity is the mother of invention, as the president said when he swapped the pet banks for the Sub Treasury." "Much remains unsung, as the tomcat said when a brickbat cut short his serenade."

From the 1806 pioneering in New Orleans by the versatile Mr. Rannie, who set up broad claims as entertainer, ventriloquist, magician, and actor, dramatic production in English made astonishing development. The American, or Camp Street, theater, as it was later known, was one of the principal factors in swinging the

¹ Probably no library in the United States in the 1840 decade contained as many as 70,000 volumes.

city's trend above Canal street. Its cornerstone was laid May 29, 1822. Later came the St. Charles, on St. Charles street below Poydras, and the New American, on Poydras street at Camp, after the old American was remodeled to other uses. These houses played to large and enthusiastic audiences. When the St. Charles and the New American were burned in 1842, they were immediately rebuilt.

Shakespeare was the foundation of the English dramatic structure in New Orleans. During the period in question, there were many productions of *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Henry IV*, Part 1.

Other standard classics were *She Stoops to Conquer*, *The Rivals*, *School for Scandal*, *The Lady of Lyons*, *Richelieu*, *Money*, *The Sea Captain*, *Wife*, *Grandfather Whithead*, *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, *Speed the Plough*, *The Gamester*, *The Dramatist*, and *Honeymoon*. And there were many dramatizations of novels—Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii* and *The Last of the Barons*; Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby*, and *Cricket on the Hearth*; Scott's *Ivanhoe*, *Guy Mannering*, *Lady of the Lake*, and *Rob Roy*; Hugo's *Hunchback of Notre Dame* and *Esmeralda*; Byron's *Werner*, *Mazeppa*, and *Bride of Abydos*, to mention only a few.

Without attempting to give the reason, the *Daily Picayune*, on March 14, 1844, recorded that "the play-going portions of our negro population feel more interest in, and go in greater numbers to see the plays of Shakespeare . . . than any other class of dramatic performance."

Among the great actors who appeared were Booth, Kean, the Barretts, Macready, Ellen Tree, Hackett, Tyrone Power, J. R. Scott, James S. Browne, W. E. Burton, Forrest, Henry Placide, Anderson, and J. H. Caldwell, who first established the English-speaking drama in a temple of its own in the American section.

A German theater was opened in 1840, and a theater for "free

families of color" in 1838. Neither amounted to much, but the fact of their establishment reflects the enthusiasm for the drama at the time and emphasizes the drift from the bullfights and such bloody variations as matches between bulls and dogs or asses and dogs, which were held in Algiers, across the river.

There was as keen appreciation of the opera among the English-speaking element as among the French. The Italian opera's principal home in New Orleans was the St. Charles theater; the French opera's, the Théâtre d'Orléans.

The *Picayune's* critiques were careful analyses, a fact which bears testimony to the interest of New Orleans in the dramatic art, lyric and spoken. The paper did not waste its space in puffs; when it praised, the compliment was deserved; when the performance was meretricious, its comment was excoriating.

This extract from a long discussion on March 26, 1841, illustrates the constructive attitude towards the stage and the dramatic trend during that period:

"Our living plays have too much to do with kings, queens and titled personages. Sophocles, the pupil of Aeschylus, effected one of the first vast improvements of the drama when he kicked out the gods and made his characters of mortal clay. . . . Let us have something nearer home, something more closely connected with our own domestic interests. Give us stories of our own land. . . . Let us have a National Drama, to come home to our own hearts and feelings, and we may then, perhaps, hear less of the degeneracy of the stage."

"My name is Haines" was on every tongue. It meant "I've made a terrible mistake." The *Daily Picayune* on February 11, 1840, traced the expression to a chance meeting between two horseback travelers in Virginia when Thomas Jefferson was President. One of the men, a Federalist, denounced Jefferson and all his works. Presently, they reached the entrance to Jefferson's estate. "Won't you come in?" said the second traveler. "Thanks," replied the first,

a stranger in that country. "May I ask your name?" "Jefferson—Thomas Jefferson." "The devil!—Well, my name is Haines," and he set spurs to the horse.

"I'm a gone coon," meaning "It's all up with me," was another favorite slang expression. The same newspaper, in its issue of October 14, 1841, ascribed this saying to the encounter of a noted marksman, Captain Martin Scott, with a raccoon. "May I ask if your name is Scott?" the raccoon asked when the captain drew a bead on him. "Yes." "Oh, then, I may just as well come down, for I am a gone coon."

To "catch Jessie" meant, in the slang of the day, to incur trouble beyond enduring. Jessie was the ugliest, sharpest-tongued girl in her village, and, because of her, the game of blindman's buff was abandoned there, for, after one experience, no man would run the risk, and she always joined in.

"I'll give you Goss" meant "You'll be sorry." The expression arose from the reply of a gambler, who had named his huge pistol Goss, to a man who asked, "What will you give if I pull your nose?" "I'll give you Goss," came the answer.

Instead of telling a man that he was bragging too much, one said he was "in town with a pocket full of rocks," because of a returning prodigal who jingled flints to make his friends believe he was lined with gold coins.

One "whipped the devil round the stump" when he did not come to the point. There was a stupid country candidate who stood on a stump to make a campaign appeal. He held a whip, which he cracked when he could not think of a word. One such flourish raised a welt on a printer's devil. Commented the editor in his next issue: "He ought to have said what he wanted to, without whipping the devil round the stump."

A policeman, in the 1830's and the 1840's was a "Charley"; and a swindler was a "diddler." The process of swindling was known as "roping in"; and to hoax someone was to "run a saw" on him. A

pickpocket was a "prigging cove," and to "slope" was to run away.

Money was "the ready," "the needful," "the tin," or "spondulicks." Men of spectacular or violent personalities were "screamers"; those who were interested in prize fighting, that reprobated English importation, were of "the fancy"; and those who pushed the vice of intemperance to the point of delirium tremens were said to have the "horrors, vapors or blue devils," or to be the victims of "the man with the poker."

Inflated and meaningless assertions were "talking for bunkum," an expression traced to the legislator from Buncombe, North Carolina, who blandly acknowledged to the wearied and doubting House, "I am speaking for Buncombe." This expression still survives, shortened, a century later, to "bunk."

There was a great deal of inquiry about "Who struck Billy Patterson?" Other slang or popular expressions—some of which still endure—were: No, you don't; You don't say; It's all in my eye; Oh, scissors; Horse of another color; You put your foot in it; Going it alone; Done brown; Hard to take; In a bad fix; Done gone; The wrong box; Keep a stiff upper lip; No go; Stick in the mud; Does your mother know you're out? Give her a lick back; A nice young man for a small tea party; You can't come it, judge; Oh, hush; That's the hammer; Saw my leg off; Fork over the tin; I'll see you in the fall; Laying it on thick; and Your cake is dough.

No provision for public education was made in the Constitution under which Louisiana entered the Union. Education was then considered a family problem, to be met by the private schools and by the limited facilities of the Catholic religious organizations. The state's first step in this direction, the Act of 1818, made provision only for the higher institutions of learning, to which was devoted most of the \$1,636,897 appropriated for education up to 1845. Louisiana's first educational effort, incorporated by the Legislature, was the College of Orleans, at Hospital, as Governor Nich-

olls street was then named, and St. Claude avenue. It had the distinction of training, in its brief career from 1811 to 1826, one of the state's most noted historians, Charles Étienne Arthur Gayarré. It was superseded by the College of Louisiana, at Jackson, which in time would become the Centenary College of Shreveport, and was followed, in New Orleans, by the Central school, which made college pretensions, and two primary schools.

All of these were pay institutions. The only recognition given by the state to the general population was the grudging requirement that the institutions helped by its funds should admit a limited number of "indigent" children. For instance, the Central and the two primary schools mentioned were required to give instruction to a total of one hundred poor children.

Educational development was thus summarized by the census of 1840: In New Orleans, there were two universities and colleges, with 105 students; ten academies and grammar schools, 440 students; and twenty-five primary schools, with 130 pupils at the public charge. There were 171 white persons more than twenty-one years of age in the city who could not read or write. In Louisiana there were twelve colleges and universities, with 989 students; fifty-two academies and grammar schools, 1995 students; and a hundred and seventy-nine primary schools, with 3573 pupils, of whom 1190 were at the public charge. There were 4861 white persons more than twenty-one years of age who could not read or write.

Some farsighted citizens looked beyond the current conception. Governor A. B. Roman expressed their point of view when, in 1834, he pointed out the necessity of broadening the base of education and making it free. The system of educating "the indigent class gratuitously in schools open for the children of the opulent who pay for their instruction" had no place in a country of such democratic institutions as the United States, he said. "Common schools, wholly free, are the only ones that can succeed . . . they break down the odious distinctions . . . they oblige the rich as

well as the poor to be interested in the selection of competent teachers."

Six years later Louisiana swung round to this view. Acting on the advice of Horace Mann of Massachusetts, a leader in public education, the Board members of the schools which had succeeded the College of Orleans engaged John A. Shaw of Boston to establish the public school system in this state.

Shaw reached New Orleans in 1842. The Legislature had, the year before, appropriated \$7500 to open a public school of primary grade in each of the three municipalities of New Orleans, a sum to be matched by the city; and \$800 to open one on the west bank of the river, opposite the city. Instruction was to be in French in the Creole section of New Orleans; in English, in the American. The people looked coldly upon the new development: in the American section, for instance, only thirteen pupils, of a minor population exceeding three thousand, appeared when the school first opened its doors in 1842. But so effective was the work of such men as Samuel J. Peters, Joshua Baldwin, J. A. Maybin, Robert McNair, and Thomas Sloo, who assisted Mr. Shaw in organizing the effort, that parents realized, before many weeks passed, that the system of public schools was not touched by the stigma of "indigency"; there was a rush to enjoy the new advantages.

On July 2, 1842, the *Daily Picayune* chronicled the community's pride in the "rapid advances" being made in education, the "brightest gem reflecting honor upon any community."

In the Constitution of 1845, provision was made for the establishment of free schools throughout the state; and in 1846 the Legislature appropriated \$18,488 for primary schools and nothing for colleges. So the new era was launched. Alexander Dimitry became the first Superintendent of Education. In 1849-50 Louisiana devoted \$602,828 to public education.

A group of doctors willing to serve as professors without pay in 1834 organized the Medical College of Louisiana. This was incorporated in 1845 as the Louisiana Medical College. By then, it had

a building of its own, at Common and Philippa, or Dryades, streets. This institution was enlarged into the University of Louisiana in 1847, but it did not open the academic department until 1851.²

In the first half of the last century, there was a strong revulsion against the excessive drinking which united gentlemen and ruffians in a common debauchery. It reached New Orleans in 1838 with the organization of the Louisiana Temperance Society, as the *Picayune* reported on July 14, in three and three-quarter columns.

That paper supported the movement. Not that it believed in total abstinence. Its columns contained many playful references to the delights of a julep, the soothing effect of a cobbler, and the value—for there were times when man needed strong medicine—of the pig and whistle. But the editors knew that many duels and bloody affrays were precipitated by heavy drinking; that much loss and suffering were caused by the vice. Alcohol, it said in a typical expression on August 1, 1839, “has carried off more people in this city within the last four months than the yellow fever has for a twelve-month.”

One of the leaders in the movement was Father James Ignatius Mullon of St. Patrick’s church, the cornerstone of which was laid July 1, 1838, and so the lofty tower became a symbol of the cause. On all men who took the pledge, he publicly bestowed medals. “We had no idea of the rapid strides which the regenerating cause of temperance is making in this city,” said the *Daily Picayune* on March 18, 1842, in comment on the parade, 350 strong, of the St. Patrick’s Total Abstinence Society. “We know nothing in the last ten years,” it said on October 19, “that has been productive of so much social, civic and domestic benefit in this city.”

² In 1883 the buildings and grounds of the University of Louisiana, which had been unused for several years, were donated by the state to Tulane University, which was endowed by Paul Tulane, one of New Orleans’ wealthy and most philanthropic citizens. So the Medical College which had opened in 1834 was the seed which grew into Tulane University in New Orleans.

One of the most sensational legal processes of this period was the criminal libel case brought by the state against John Gibson, publisher and editor of the *True American*. In his paper Mr. Gibson had charged a certain Dr. John Mackie with the "amiable and gentlemanly crime of seduction." The case was as unusual as it was sensational, for there had been no conspicuous test of the Louisiana law of 1805, which prescribed a fine up to \$1000 and imprisonment up to two years for libel.

There was an impressive array of legal talent on each side—the prosecution headed by Attorney General Étienne Mazureau, the defense by Pierre Soulé, both renowned orators. Judge J. F. Canonge's courtroom was packed when the trial opened on the morning of July 3, 1839, and continued to be packed throughout the seven days of the trial.

The defense invoked, first, the freedom of the press, a principle which the prosecution admitted so far as public affairs were concerned; and second, the truth of the publication, but the prosecution denied the validity of such a plea where a man's private life was concerned.

On that issue the argument raged, sometimes in French, sometimes in English. Despite the sweltering courtroom, the orators spoke at length and with vigor—bodily as well as mental—and several times collapsed from their efforts, so that the judge had to adjourn court to give them time to recover.

The battle ranged from the codifications of Alfonso the Wise to the philosophy of the American Declaration of Independence. It even brought in the French-American feeling in New Orleans, for a remark by Mr. Soulé that an American viewpoint should prevail, evoked from Mr. Mazureau an impassioned defense of his integrity and loyalty, despite the accident of foreign birth.

The prosecution held that a man's private life is inviolate, and that truth, far from justifying, intensifies the crime of libel, "for as the principal evil of libel is that it provokes a breach of the peace,

publishing what is true will sting a man more keenly and lead to a breach of the peace sooner than if the publication were false."

The defense admitted the general principle of this interpretation, but urged its right to present a document, in the doctor's own handwriting, admitting the seduction, so that truth might "rebut the imputation of malice, without which there is no crime."

After every attorney had uncorked his full supply of speeches, the judge ruled that the truth of the charge could not be admitted into the case, but that the jury would be "the sole judge of the law and the facts" on any evidence that might be presented.

Both sides immediately claimed a victory, and shifted grounds. The prosecution was insistent upon calling the woman in the case to the stand, but the defense was opposed to the injection of scandalous testimony into the trial. The judge dismissed the witness, thereby disappointing the audience which had hoped for the lurid details; and the case went to the jury, which could not agree. Though there was no decision, the result was a victory for Editor Gibson and gave a broader interpretation of the freedom of the press, which the people of this country, in the abolition riots of the period, seemed bent on destroying.

It was a violent era in United States history, the opening decades of the nineteenth century: one that reflected the intolerance and the bitterness of Andrew Jackson, himself a product of turbulent times, who forced men and the law to his own ends in his smashing years as President. Mob rule was quick to usurp constituted authority. There were anti-Catholic, anti-Masonic and antiforeign riots; there were dreadful strikes as men fought for a ten-hour day; there were lynchings. This spirit launched the Buckshot War of Pennsylvania and the Anti-Rent War of New York; it drove this nation close to conflict with England on the Maine boundary dispute; and it brought forth the vicious animosities of the abolition movement.

When the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the old

Northwest, was drawn up, North and South discussed the problem calmly, sanely, seeking a way to eliminate a recognized evil in the future without dislocating the present. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin a few years later opened immense areas of land to cultivation in the South, where slaves were the chief labor supply, and was one of the principal factors in committing that section to the plantation system. By 1830 there were about 1,900,000 slaves in the slaveholding states. The farsighted men of the South recognized the economic and social dangers of slavery, and still hoped a way would be found to eliminate it gradually; but the infuriating attitude of Northern abolitionists, which reached a climax in the bitterly adopted Missouri Compromise of 1820 forbidding slavery north of Missouri, and would reach another climax in the demands of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, publication of which was begun in 1831, that all slaves be released, steadily reduced their influence and progressively increased the sectionalism of the issue. Nat Turner's slave insurrection that year, though it was quickly and bloodily suppressed, filled with alarm a South in which there had always been the fear of a servile revolt. The next outburst might be more successful. The Anti-Slavery Society, which was organized in New York in 1833 and began to open branches throughout the country, was a dreadful portent. The people of the South began to believe that the "abolitionist fanatics" of the North would go to the extreme of wholesale massacre to carry their point.

At first, the North was as unsympathetic as the South to the agitation. The authorities in the Northern states stood by the Constitution, which recognized slavery in certain states; the people mobbed the abolitionists and smashed their printing presses.

But the agitation would not die. Petitions poured into Congress, and, whether the debate was on their contents or on whether they should be received, it was acrimonious, and tended to set one section of the country against the other. As population flowed into the American wilderness, enormously extended by the Louisiana

Purchase, every admission to statehood evoked new and increasingly bitter discussion of the slavery issue. Texas, peopled by Southerners, sought to be admitted into the United States in 1837, after it had broken away from Mexico, but was refused because of the slavery implications. The abolitionists asserted that the entire Texas movement had been engendered by the South to increase its political strength and to chain the country to the hated institution.

Amid these wild alarms, the *Daily Picayune* did not lose its calm. "Confound abolition!" it ejaculated, humorously, on August 8, 1840. "We oppose it from principle, from taste, from deliberation, from conviction, from common sense, from our hearts, our bones, our blood, our finger nails, our hat, coat, pantaloons, vest, breastpin, shirt, stock, stockings and walking stick." On August 3, 1841, it quoted, without comment, and merely to show a point of view that was gaining adherents, this statement from the *Intelligencer* of Concordia, Louisiana: "The Union is not worth preserving when a city like Cincinnati, identified with the South in commercial interests, permits abolitionists to forcibly rob our citizens and invade rights guaranteed by the Constitution." This was in reference to a legal decision in Ohio that a slave taken into that state by his master was automatically freed. The strongest expression which the *Daily Picayune* permitted itself was made after the riot of 1841 in Cincinnati. Negroes, then, under the goadings of abolitionists, made an attack on whites. There was much violence; cannon were fired down the streets. In an editorial which ran to three quarters of a column, the *Daily Picayune* said on September 17: "The dirty pool of abolition is one which we do not like to stir. . . . We never have, nor shall we ever refer to it for the sake of political effect. . . . If the people, then, of the United States would avoid civil war . . . they will frown down the moral pestilence of abolition."

Several states had abolished imprisonment for debt. But 75,000 persons a year were still being sent to jail for this cause in the

United States as late as 1833.³ Dickens' exposure of the evil in England intensified the agitation in the United States, and results were quicker here than there, for England did not end imprisonment for debt until 1869. The movement was accelerated in the United States by the Federal statute of 1839, which abolished imprisonment for debt on suits brought in United States courts, in states that had passed such laws.

The *Daily Picayune* began its campaign in Louisiana on March 8, 1839, in an article which said, "Our prison is crowded with debtors—a majority of them, it is fair to presume, honest debtors." Time after time, it returned to the attack, and in masterly articles showed the unfairness of the system, and the harm it did. One of its strongest points was that creditors who pressed for the extreme application of the law were actuated, not by any expectation of being able to force payment, but by spite, and so made society their cat's paw for vengeance.

Nicholas J. Roosevelt reached New Orleans on January 10, 1812, in the first steamboat ever seen on a Western river. This was the 116-foot "New Orleans." She was deep-hulled, like an ocean vessel, and equipped with sails as well as an engine. With the current she could make eight miles an hour; against it, if it were not too strong, three. Roosevelt boasted that it had taken only 259 hours of travel time to come from Pittsburgh. In 1816 Captain Henry Miller Shreve built the 136-foot "George Washington." Its broad and shallow hull offered little resistance to the current and was able to skim over the shoal places. Its raised second deck increased the freight and passenger capacity. In 1817 he drove the "George Washington" from New Orleans to Louisville in twenty-five days. No longer could there be doubt that mighty changes were in the making.

Power transportation began a new era in the Mississippi Valley,

³ John Bach Masters, *History of the People of the United States* . . . , 8 vols. (New York, 1883-1913), VI, 99.

the lush immensity of which was penetrated by 30,000 miles of rivers and streams. These flowing roads were the cheapest and almost the only practical transportation routes. By 1820 the fabulous steamboat development had begun; by 1830 it was making economic history. New population fresheted down the waterways; freights between New Orleans and Ohio river points dropped from \$6.75 to \$3 per 100 pounds, passenger rates between New Orleans and Pittsburgh fell from \$130 to \$30.

Lacking such natural facilities, and faced with a transportation cost of 70 cents per ton mile over the land trails, the North and East turned to canals, opening the Erie, between New York and Buffalo, 362 miles away, in 1825, and spending, by 1880, \$214,041,820 on creating 4468 miles of these waterways.

Meanwhile, steam had begun to show its possibilities in land transportation. When Peter Cooper's ridiculous locomotive, "Tom Thumb," on August 28, 1830, made the fourteen-mile run from Baltimore to Elliott's Mills in an hour and fifteen minutes, businessmen began to estimate that engines could do the work of fifty horses and save \$35 a day.

New Orleans, though the steamboat made it the commercial focus of the Mississippi Valley, was as quick to see the importance of the railroad as was the East. By 1831 its Pontchartrain Railroad had begun to operate to Lake Pontchartrain, four and a half miles away, to reach the waterborne transportation that made Milneburg an important tributary port. By the time the decade was half sped, a short railroad between Bayou Lamourie and Alexandria had added a new economy to the movement of produce from Central Louisiana to New Orleans, via the Red and Mississippi rivers. The Mexican Gulf Railway struggled towards Lake Borgne, twenty-four miles away, a link in the chain of railroads which, in the heady enthusiasm of the day, was to unite New Orleans to the East. Other parts of the great river system felt the need of railroad transportation, because population, the river frontages being taken, was pushing into the interior, and five yoke of oxen were barely

able to drag the fat bales of cotton over roads hub-deep in mud. Hence the hysterical joy with which communities hailed the coming of the iron horse.⁴

Other parts of the country saw the railroad as a feeder to canal and river transportation; but almost from the first, the Mississippi Valley saw in it a relief from "slow-moving river traffic" and a means of reaching "the grain and live stock supply of the Northwest as quickly as possible."⁵ Early in the 1830's far-visioned men of New Orleans began to agitate for a railroad that would parallel the Mississippi between that port and the Ohio river.

W. M. Hoffman and Clark Woodruff in 1834 were given a charter to build such a road. Nashville was the objective. The cost of laying the 500 miles of track was estimated at \$6,000,000. The plan broke against Mississippi's refusal to allow such a line to enter the state; Jackson feared it would lose the cotton trade. The Nashville road, as it was called, built only about 20 miles of track, and even these were abandoned—the rails torn up, in 1842, and sold for junk.

Louisiana, in 1836, incorporated six railroad projects: the New Orleans and Plaquemines, the Springfield and Liberty, the Livingston, the Lake Providence and Red River, the Baton Rouge and Clinton, and the Iberville; but nothing came of these plans. The 1830's saw 2264 miles of track laid throughout the United States; the 1840's more than twice as much; but by 1853, Louisiana had only 63 miles of railroad line in operation, including the Carrollton, which was urban and suburban.

⁴ For instance, the lyrical account in the *Mississippi Free Trader* when, on January 16, 1838, the Mississippi and Pearl River Railroad sent its first train, in an impressive atmosphere of smoke and sparks, from Natchez to Washington, Mississippi, five miles away: "The locomotive, it is thought, has some inkling of what is about to happen. It looks out from its house towards Washington, snorts, coughs fire, sometimes yawns, and stretches its long legs toward the race track, like an old racer who expects sport soon. It has a perfect contempt for horned cattle, and despises wagoning in the mud, and cares not a fig for a rainy day."

⁵ John W. Starr, Jr., *One Hundred Years of American Railroading* (New York, 1928), preface.

The principal dependence of New Orleans, and the Great Valley, rested on the riverways. Steamboat builders could hardly keep up with the increasing demands. By the early 1840's, the *Daily Picayune* was carrying two columns of steamboat advertising. Shreve's prediction that eventually the time to Louisville would be cut to ten days was realized quicker than anyone believed possible.

Speed continued to increase, until the packets were able to clip off 20 miles or more an hour. The "J. M. White," in May, 1844, made the run from New Orleans to St. Louis, 1200 miles away, in three days, twenty-three hours, and nine minutes. Long before Morse's telegraph clicked off the words "What hath God wrought" in 1843, the *Daily Picayune* said that mechanical genius had "annihilated distance."

Shreve's basic steamboat design never changed. But the refinements, improvements,⁶ and enlargements of later years created the distinctive type of the Mississippi river packet, the only transportation agency to which the word "glamorous" has been given. By 1860, when the golden age of steamboats ended in the blast of war, there would be river craft of 1500 tons, with passenger accommodations of fabulous elegance.⁷

Dangerous was travel in the early days of the steamboat, when the *Picayune* was launched. Engines and boilers were in the experimental stage, the river bristled with snags, above and below the water's surface, and inflammable freight—even gunpowder—was piled close to the roaring fireboxes. Speed, as captains forced their craft to the limit, added a new hazard. Few steamboats had

⁶ The first steamboat whistle appeared on the "Luda" in 1843, the "Revenue" in 1844, or the "St. Charles" in 1844, according to different reports in E. W. Gould, *Fifty Years on the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1889). The whistle seems to have been adapted from Watt's device to warn the engineer that water was reaching a dangerously low point in the boiler.

⁷ Describing the "Peytona" as "a river palace," the *Daily Picayune*, January 31, 1846, commented on the "luxurious furniture, beautiful carpets, elegant curtains and superb linens," and said that the "staterooms are fitted up in a manner quite superior to that of most hotel bed rooms." Later steamboats were even more palatial, and captains were as proud of their chefs and orchestras as of their speed.

a life longer than five years. When Dickens visited the United States in 1842, he reported that experienced travelers chose their staterooms as far aft as possible, to be out of the way of bursting boilers.

Under the standing caption "Steamboat Murders," the *Daily Picayune* in 1838 laid heavy emphasis upon river tragedies and agitated for inspection laws and other controls to prevent "this kind of slaughter." On November 25, 1840, it announced that since the introduction of steam to the flowing roads in the Great Valley, there had been 272 major steamboat disasters, resulting in 1921 deaths and 450 dreadful injuries. "Legislative action . . . is imperatively demanded," it said on January 12, 1841. To racing it ascribed many of the accidents. "The recent explosion of the 'Lucy Walker' is a case in point," it said November 26, 1844.

By 1860 there would be more than 1000 steamboat disasters, with a death toll of nearly 5000; but, by that time, there would be nearly 2000 steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries, and between New Orleans and St. Louis one would be in sight or within hearing nearly every minute of the day and night.

Transportation demands of this burgeoning period forced the clearing of the Red river of the South, which was barriered by one of the most fantastic obstructions ever seen—a tangle of engulfed trees which for a hundred miles filled the stream from bank to bank and from top to bottom, a log jam so solid that sufficient soil had found lodgment on top to bring forth a luxuriant tangle of weeds, vines, willows, and cottonwoods. Engineering records show that from 1820 to 1838 the Great Raft grew sixteen miles in length.

Originating in the Staked Plains of Texas, the Red is today one of the principal rivers in the United States in length of navigation, and then was the gateway to the Great West which challenged American enterprise after the Louisiana Purchase. Up the Red pushed development from the Mississippi; 257 miles upstream, it ran into the Great Raft, detoured, and attacked the wilderness beyond the obstruction. Because of the overland transportation

around the Raft, it cost \$6 a bale to ship Texas cotton to New Orleans, \$3 a barrel to ship flour back over the same route. For ten years Congress debated the problem, then threw it into the lap of Shreve, who had been superintendent of Western river improvement since 1827, and with snag boats of his design, had been able to pull some of the teeth of the Mississippi and Ohio.

With a force of 159 men and 4 snag boats, he began the attack on April 11, 1833. Nearly five years later, on March 7, 1838, he reached the head of the obstruction, and the first steamboat foamed upstream. Twelve hundred miles of the Red river were open to navigation. Down went the freight rates, up surged a new development.

One of Shreve's camp sites was Bennett's Bluff, occupied by a solitary log cabin, probably a trading post. This was a pleasant spot; the surrounding country was well drained and fat with promise. On May 28, 1836, Shreve organized, with several other men, the Shreve Town Company, and was one of the first to build a house there. Others were attracted to this nucleus. The settlement was incorporated in 1839 and grew into Shreveport.⁸

One of the largest capital prizes in the history of the lottery was the impressive building known as Banks' Arcade. It was valued at \$700,000 in 1839, that year of financial stringency, when owners of real estate had to resort to the lottery in order to entice money from its hiding places.

But by 1840 real estate sales were again impressive, a sure sign that recovery was under way. True, the banks suspended metallic payment in 1841, but this was a temporary setback. New population poured in. There was plenty of work, plenty of opportunity, plenty of money. New Orleans raced ahead in seven-league boots.

⁸ From the first, Shreveport was an up-and-coming community. The *Daily Picayune* reported on July 30, 1840, that the people in that section had organized themselves into a posse to clean up crime in Shreveport, which for a long time had been the "stronghold of a band of desperadoes." Two of the ruffians were killed, two were thrown into prison, the rest fled to other frontiers where law was still written in gunsmoke.

When the American and St. Charles theaters were destroyed by fire in 1832, they were immediately rebuilt. St. Patrick's church was finished in 1840; many business structures raised their masonry promise at this time. "The forest of shipping hemming in the city seems to grow denser every day, while the number of steamboats increases with a rapidity that is bewildering," reported the *Daily Picayune* on April 11, 1841. On gaudy maps, subdividers envisioned new suburbs and new cities from the swampy edge of New Orleans to the reedy shore of Lake Pontchartrain.

Lafayette City, New Orleans' near neighbor, made astonishing growth. A paved Tchoupitoulas street had made it possible, since 1838, to run a bus line from Canal street to the most heavily developed part of Lafayette. This was to the slaughter houses, near the river, the market for Texas cattle drives. Before this, the steam dummy, which ran from Tivoli Circle, as Lee Circle was then called, to Carrollton, had opened access to the market gardens in the rear of the municipality. Better-off Orleanians now began to build on these fat acres; the movement was especially strong in the Chestnut, Prytaneum (Prytania), and Nyades (St. Charles) street areas. So the Garden district came into being. Later would come bus lines on Prytania and Apollo (or Carondelet) streets, to increase the development.

Lafayette had its own newspaper, the *Louisiana Statesman*, a well-edited sheet, if one may judge by the quotations in the *Daily Picayune*; and it had its own bank.⁹ When it was consolidated with New Orleans in 1852, the former suburb had a population of about 15,000.

Andrew Jackson returned to New Orleans in 1840 to take part in the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Battle of New Orleans and in the ceremonies of laying the cornerstones for monuments in the Place d'Armes and on Chalmette field to commemo-

⁹ When Walt Whitman worked on a New Orleans newspaper in 1846, he lived in Lafayette City. The bank vault now serves the Lafayette Fire Insurance Company.

rate that victory. He was the guest of the state. New Orleans raised \$5000 for his entertainment.

"We have never seen the city so full of strangers," said the *Daily Picayune* on January 7. Nearly everybody wore a silk badge stamped with the likeness of Old Hickory. On that day, the steamboat "Emperor" left New Orleans, with the welcoming committee, a military escort, and many enthusiastic citizens to meet, at Donaldsonville, the "Vicksburg," which was carrying the general downriver.

The white-haired hero reached New Orleans at 10 A.M. on January 8. At the wharf he was greeted by an immense throng. His reception was generally enthusiastic, reported the *Daily Picayune* the next day, though "there was a lukewarmness on the part of some of his political opponents which we consider anything but praiseworthy." These were the Whigs, the party which was, later that year, to sweep Jackson's Democratic successor, Van Buren, out to the roaring exordium of log cabins and hard cider. The *True American* had urged that all Whigs refrain from taking part in the welcome.

Jackson and his entourage entered barouches. The vehicle of the general was drawn by four horses. Escorted by the Louisiana Legion and the Washington Battalion, he passed through cheering crowds on Canal street to the State House. There his escort was augmented by old battle comrades, by members of the Legislature, by the three city Councils, and by hundreds of citizens. He then went to the St. Louis Cathedral, where an oration was pronounced in his honor. After this ceremony, he conducted a military review in the Place d'Armes while cannon roared a salute. Later that day, the Louisiana Grays, the Orleans Grenadiers, and the Montgomery Guards formed in Lafayette Square and fired salutes. Conducted to his suite in the St. Louis hotel, he held a levee for the throngs who were eager to do him honor. That evening, he and a group of his close friends attended a performance in the St. Charles theater, where every seat, all standing room was taken. After the curtain

dropped on the first act, the orchestra played the national anthem, and J. M. Field, a popular actor, delivered a poetical address. The cheering was tumultuous; Jackson had to rise twice to acknowledge the enthusiastic greeting. He was given another ovation when he left the theater.

Crowds stormed the hôtel the next day. Tears dulled the sharp eyes of the old warrior. At 2 P.M., he excused the military guard assigned to his quarters, with the remark that the young men must be tired.

On the afternoon of January 10, Jackson visited the Chalmette battlefield.

The cornerstone ceremony at Chalmette was scheduled for the twelfth, and a granite block inscribed "Eighth of January, 1815," seems to have been bought and delivered at the battlefield, but for some reason the ceremony was called off, to the disappointment of the large crowd assembled there. One searches the *Picayune* and the other newspapers in vain for light.

Much confusion attended the laying of the cornerstone in the Place d'Armes. Those in charge of the program seem to have been at cross purposes, and notices to the military organizations were sent only a short time before the ceremony. Nevertheless, the parade organized at 10 o'clock on the morning of January 14—a goodly turnout, including the volunteer companies, the police, state and city officials, and citizens generally. At the Place d'Armes, Bishop Antoine Blanc, in full pontificals, and the clergy of the cathedral received the general. There were addresses in French and in English, and the stone was laid in place. The *Daily Picayune* relates that it contained a volume of the civil laws of Louisiana, a volume of the city laws of New Orleans, and a rusty cannonball.

After the ceremony, the general was driven to the steamboat "Vicksburg," and thousands of persons shouted good-bye as she got under way, returning upriver. Two years later, the Legislature refunded to Jackson the \$1000 fine assessed against him by a New Orleans court after the Battle of New Orleans.

Kendall and Lumsden showed steady improvement in newspaper craftsmanship. They demanded high excellence of the editorial men they employed, and were just as exacting about the free-will contributions of subscribers, which they rejected with public and acidulous comment when their sins were too overpowering. For instance, July 18, 1837—"Emily stole her verses from Pelham. Solitude is too mournful—we advise him to row a boat." January 6, 1838—"Sedgwick's poetry is too sentimental, and More Anon's story is too long. Clitus is an ass." March 27, 1839—"Carolus had better give up writing poetry and take to digging clams." Police reports became features; fires evoked vivid word pictures; summaries of national and foreign news became vehicles for humorous comment.

Two of the most gifted writers were the brothers J. M. and M. C. Field. The former was the actor who delivered the poetical address to Jackson. Under the pen-name "Straws," he contributed several hundred poems of light and topical interest to the paper. M. C. Field was a minor poet of much ability who was a member of the staff until his death in 1844. He signed his verse "Phazma."¹⁰ In prose, he was equally felicitous. His "Prairie Sketches," unsigned but later acknowledged, had conspicuous excellence.

As the paper's format was enlarged, articles ran to greater length; but the focus continued to be on close-up brevity.

Every column throbbed with the enthusiasm of youth. For instance, the paragraph of August 19, 1840, beginning "Gentle readers, simple readers, kind readers" and continuing for sixty-seven adjectives, to the climax "hope you are well this morning," was written for the sheer joy of writing. Or take the summary of "City News," April 21, 1840: "The river is rising still higher—freights are falling still lower—the mails keep failing—the politicians keep railing—Harrison songs are at a premium—the notes of sundry

¹⁰ *Poems of Phazma*, which appeared from time to time in the *Daily Picayune*, were gathered into book form in 1849, according to a report in that newspaper; but a record of the book or its place of publication has not been found by this author. It is not contained or listed in the Library of Congress.

banks are at a discount—the ‘highly concentrated’ [a patent medicine, at the pretentious claims of which the paper had many a laugh] goes ahead, so does the paving with pine blocks in Custom-house [Iberville] street—the boundary war [dispute between the First and Second Municipalities] and the improvement of the neutral ground in Canal street occupy a large space in the public mind—elf locks are going out of fashion, so is honesty—mosquitoes are on the increase, so are dandies and impudence—our streets offer great facilities for traveling, folks may go through them either by land or water just as they choose—the police offices continue to be well patronized, we can not say ditto of the ‘temple’—the levee is crowded with poultry and produce, denizens and doubtful strangers—there is also a considerable of a sprinkling of customers in the calaboose.”

In 1839 the *Daily Picayune* made a connection with a New York correspondent, whose letters interpreted developments in the East. Later, it opened correspondencies, fairly regular, in other principal cities of the East, South, and West. It paid special attention to Texas. Kendall and Lumsden, on their journeys, always sent back letters for publication, describing the country through which they passed. From the beginning, the newspaper had the broad national outlook, in which politics, local, state, or national, played no part.

By October 2, 1839, it was claiming a daily circulation of 2000 in the summer months, 3000 in the winter; and 10,000 for the weekly. By November 10 of that year it had installed a Napier press, a flat-bed cylinder of English manufacture. This increased the printing speed. “Go ahead, steamboat!” said an exulting editorial. “Get out of the way or you’ll be run over!” But it was not until December 31, 1845, that the paper put in steam power, and several months later, it added a Hoe double-cylinder to its printing equipment, which tripled the output per hour. After January 12, 1840, the *Daily Picayune* refused to accept advertisements “of a personal nature”—it was moved, not by fear of libel, but by an unwillingness to provoke a breach of the peace, as it explained on January

19, 1841. In 1840, it became the official paper of the Second Municipality, and printed, for pay, such announcements as the price of bread established by the city government, and, of course, the official proceedings of the council; but this political connection lasted only a few months.

To New Orleans came, in 1836, a fair-haired, blue-eyed businessman of twenty-eight who was to play a role of increasing importance in the *Picayune* for nearly four decades, and was to toss the torch to one of the greatest newspaper geniuses this country has known. His name was Alva Morris Holbrook. Born in Townshend, Vermont, August 23, 1808, he was educated for a business career, and after several years of experience in a country store in the North, entered a commercial establishment in New Orleans. He saw the launching of the *Picayune*; watched its steady growth; and bought into it in 1839. The masthead announced the enlarged ownership on June 4 of that year: "Lumsden, Kendall and Co." On March 2, 1842, he lost his anonymity, and the masthead read, "F. A. Lumsden, Geo. Wilkins Kendall and A. M. Holbrook."

We do not know the extent of his first investment. Probably it was not large, by later standards, but it must have been sufficient to enable the paper to finance its next expansion. What is more important is that Holbrook took charge of the business office, which by then needed more expert attention than either Lumsden or Kendall, with their training, could give it. He was probably responsible for the first extended discussion of the value of advertising, which ran October 2, 1839—three quarters of a column—a theme to which the paper frequently returned in the years that followed.

The expansion came on August 1, 1840, when the *Daily Picayune* appeared in a six-column format. After December 20, 1840, the name-line on Page 1 was embellished with a cut symbolizing Louisiana and its resources—a woman, in classical raiment, with a nesting pelican, a sugar hogshead, a steamboat, and a sailing vessel. Each column was 13 picas wide, and 17 inches long on Page 1,

18¼ on the other pages. From the 228 column inches of January 27, 1837, the *Daily Picayune* had grown to 430½ column inches—nearly doubling in size in three and a half years.

Increased advertising immediately filled three pages and overflowed into the news and editorial space on Page 2. At the lowest published rates, the daily revenue from advertising apparently was about \$200. Subscriptions, and earnings by the weekly, were extra.

On October 28, 1845, the paper went to a seven-column format, the columns of the same width, but longer—17½ inches on Page 1, 19½ on the other three pages. Advertising absorbed most of the extra space. On December 31 of that year, steam power was hooked to the press, and a few months later, a Hoe double-cylinder press was added to the printing equipment.

A little more than a year before, A. C. Bullitt had been admitted into the partnership. The masthead of November 19, 1844, was changed to read: "F. A. Lumsden, Geo. Wilkins Kendall, A. M. Holbrook and A. C. Bullitt." He had been a resident of New Orleans since 1833 and editor of the English side of the *Bee* for some years. He was brilliant—and militant: once he had defended his position in a duel with the editor of the *Louisianian*. On the *Bee*, Bullitt had specialized in politics, but he put such interests behind him when he joined the *Daily Picayune*. That paper barely mentioned his election to the state Legislature in January, 1846.

During the five years ending with 1845, the *Daily Picayune* earned about \$59,000. These were the years of financial crisis and slow recovery. During the thirteen-month period ending with 1845, the partners received \$16,729.57, distributed as follows: Kendall, \$6018.04; Lumsden, \$4868.33; Holbrook, \$2994.27; and Bullitt, \$2848.93.¹¹

¹¹ Kendall papers, cited by Fayette Copeland in *Kendall of the Picayune* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1943), 143.

Adventure

THE RAPID conquest of the Mississippi Valley whetted men's eagerness for new wilderness to conquer. Lewis and Clark's faring up the Missouri, across the Rockies and to the Pacific ocean in 1805 and 1806; Pike's exploration of the headwaters of the Mississippi in 1806, and his high adventure, next year, in the Texas wilds, still quickened imaginations. More recently, Frémont had assisted I. N. Nicolet in the survey of the lands between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and events were shaping for his exploration, in 1842, from the Missouri to the Rockies, for which he was commissioned through the influence of his father-in-law, Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri. Especially did the dwellers of the lower part of the Valley turn their eyes towards Texas. So when President Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar of that republic organized an expedition to Santa Fé, imagination took fire.

Texas claimed all New Mexico east of the Rio Grande. Lamar's purpose was twofold: first, to open a trade route to Santa Fé, which since 1823 had been doing a large wagon business with St. Louis, more than 1000 miles away; and second, to invite the New Mexicans to break away from Mexico and throw in their lot with Texas. He had been given assurance by a number of long-time residents of Santa Fé that New Mexico would welcome the change. Santa Fé was 1200 miles from the Mexican capital, and 400 miles from El Paso del Norte, the closest large Mexican center.

The *Daily Picayune* had a large circulation in Texas. It believed in the westward movement, especially into Texas, not only because of the trade importance to New Orleans, but also because of the national implications. Kendall sailed May 17, 1841, to join Governor Lamar's quest for the golden fleece.

He landed at Galveston, and rode horseback to the recently established capital, Austin, traversing "the most lovely country I have yet seen," according to his letter printed June 17 in the *Daily Picayune*.

The expedition left Austin June 17, an impressive movement, including 270 soldiers with a six-pound cannon; 50 merchants, commissioners, and adventurers; 22 wagons of merchandise and provisions; and 100 head of cattle. Brevet Brigadier General Hugh McLeod was in command. The military organization was to give protection against Indians, whose maraudings were a constant menace. In Spanish proclamations which he sent for distribution through New Mexico, the governor stated that the venture was only commercial, and that he had no intention of enforcing Texas' territorial claims. The *Daily Picayune*, however, in its report of July 8 announcing the departure of the expedition, said that Santa Fé would be attacked if the people were cold to the invitation.

Kendall almost missed making the trip. On the eve of leaving, he fell from a bluff overlooking the Colorado river and broke his ankle. He had the foot splinted and was carried in one of the wagons until the bones were sufficiently knit for him to bestride a horse.

Early in November the *Daily Picayune* printed a report that the expedition had reached its destination and had been well received. But later in the month disquieting rumors began to filter in—reports that the entire force had been captured and thrown into prison. Confirmation came in December. On January 4, 1842, the *Picayune* report lifted the curtain for a horrifying glimpse of the hell into which the party had been plunged.

Not a word from Kendall. His friends feared the worst.

As we today spin over broad ribbons of concrete from Austin to Santa Fé, it is hard to imagine the difficulties and the dangers of that journey through a thousand miles of wilderness. There was no road, not even a trail; every river, every creek, every ravine in that broken and steadily rising country was an obstacle of magnitude. No one knew the way, and the expected Indian guides did not appear. The only Indians seen were hostile bands, distantly glimpsed as they hovered about the expedition, waiting to cut off stragglers, seeking an opening for attack.

But there was a wild exhilaration about the journey which our cushioned ease can never know. A hurried breakfast at daylight when the new land was distilling fragrance, then to saddle and into the unknown northwest. The air was like wine; the vegetation growth from the accumulated fertility of centuries was an unending marvel. Beyond every rise lay the possibility of adventure—a scamper after buffalo, perhaps, or exploration of a prairie dog village. In the distance, the mountains hung their blue allure. A short rest at noon, then onward again until the sun, from the rim of the world, warned the men to make camp and put out guards against Indian threat. Then sleep, under the silver confetti of the stars, heads pillowed upon saddles, heavy blankets keeping out the worst of the night chill, which increased with the gradual rise of the ground to mile-high altitude.

Game was plentiful, at first—a hunter's dream; but later, it failed, and the last of the cattle were slaughtered, the last of the wagon-reserve provisions were eaten. There were days when the men were driven by hunger to "devouring every tortoise and snake, every living and creeping thing," as Kendall later wrote.

By mid-August the expedition was high on the Pecos river, to the east of Santa Fé. It found the country aflame. Governor Manuel Armijo had aroused the people to a frenzy of resistance, with dreadful stories of the Texans' bloody intentions. Indian bands slashed boldly, and Armijo pressed close with his army. On September 15 he captured the expedition through the treachery of one

of its members, confiscated the trade goods, executed some of the men, and sent the rest in chains and on foot to the City of Mexico. Kendall was among them.¹

There, they were imprisoned and made to work on the streets. Kendall for a time was held in San Lazaro, where the lepers were confined.

The outrage aroused not only Texas but the United States. "This justifies war," roared a mass meeting held February 4 in Banks' Arcade. Two days before, the *Daily Picayune* had printed the first report about Kendall, a letter of November 27, 1841, from Chihuahua. Leaving Holbrook in charge, Lumsden rushed to Mexico. He found Kendall looking well, despite that frightful march, and in no danger, so far as he could learn, but apparently as far from release as ever, for Santa Anna had returned an evasive answer to the American government's demands for the immediate release of the Americans. Returning to New Orleans in March, Lumsden printed an editorial on the eleventh, asking, "Has the United States become so utterly contemptible as to permit itself to be trodden under foot by Mexican officials?"

He and Holbrook addressed a personal appeal to President John

¹ Some idea of the horror of that foot journey from Socorro, New Mexico, to Mexico City is given on pages 297-98 and 301-304 of G. W. Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition* . . . , 2 vols. (New York, 1844). In these pages he describes the trip over a stretch of country through which we now motor in comfort, admiring the fair countryside that has been brought into being by irrigation. But then, this stretch was known as "Dead Man's Journey," says Kendall. It was a ninety-mile trail across a "large bend of the river [the Rio Grande]." Continuing, Kendall says: "It is a level, sterile and desolate plain—a desert, with no vegetation save here and there a few stunted thorns, different species of the cactus, of dwarflike proportions, and clumps of one of the smaller kinds of palm, growing to the height of some six or seven feet, with long, coarse leaves, branching up from the roots, and forming a very mat, from the closeness with which they grow together. These clumps are called bear grass. . . . Near the center of the desert is the Dead Man's Lake, which during the spring and early summer is filled with water; but when we crossed its bed was perfectly dry." Towards daylight, "many of the prisoners were fairly walking in their sleep, and staggering about, from one side of the road to the other, like so many drunken men." There was an hour's halt at daylight, then the march was resumed; at noon they passed Dead Man's Lake. There was a short rest that night; the march was resumed at 10 P.M., and continued for thirty-six hours, without food.

Tyler. United States Minister Waddy Thompson made a peremptory demand on the Mexican government. On April 30, 1842, the *Daily Picayune* announced that Kendall and six other Americans had been set at liberty. It was not until July that the other prisoners were released.

Kendall returned to New Orleans, May 19, was joyfully welcomed, not only by his friends but by the entire community, was elected captain of a military company, and began writing his adventures.

Between June 1, 1842, and April 12, 1843, he contributed 122 articles to the *Daily Picayune*. They averaged more than a thousand words each. They were unsigned and inconspicuously headlined. But they were read; and they were reprinted, far and wide. Some chapters were lifted, without credit, by Marryat for his "Narrative of Monsieur Violet."

From these rough sketches, Kendall wrote his *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, about 243,000 words, which Harper and Brothers brought out in 1844 in two volumes, price \$2.50 a set. The book had a wide circulation in this country and abroad—one of the first, and best, books of Western adventure; and it played a part in shaping the public mind on the Texas question.

It is still a thrilling story. The simplicity of the narrative is one of its charms, the vividness is one of its marvels. We wonder at the detail of the reporting. Kendall wrote from memory, for Armijo had confiscated his notes; but his descriptions of the country, his flow of incident, his clear insight into characters make a vivid and exciting narrative.

One of the most striking passages is the description of the lepers' celebration in the prison-hospital:

"When dark came, the female lepers, dressed in all their finery, began to assemble, the numerous candles were lighted, and after all were collected, the ceremonies of the night commenced. The hospital attendants with their families, the priests attached to San

Lazaro, with a few visitors, were present, and took part in a long and discordant chant, the like of which I am confident has never been heard beyond the walls of San Lazaro. Every line in this wild hymn seemed to end with '*Dolores!*' and certainly more dolorous sounds can scarcely be imagined. All the lepers joined in the chorus, their harsh, croaking and discordant voices giving an effect horribly grating to the ear. They did not sing through their noses, for many of them had none to sing through; but they gave utterance to screams and screeches which seemed not of this earth. Their appearance, too, kneeling about in groups, and with their disfigured and hideous faces lit up by the glare of the numerous candles, combined with the strange and most unnatural chorus, gave the whole affair a strong resemblance to some monstrous dream of a disturbed imagination—to some midnight revel of witches and hobgoblins, held within a charnel-house. Had the lepers been arrayed in habiliments befitting their unfortunate lot, and their deportment been of a character more consonant with their condition, the effect of the whole scene would have been different; but to see the wretched flaunting in gaudy apparel, and many of them joyous under the most horrible affliction which has ever been entailed upon humanity—all this formed a picture which may be imagined, but cannot be described.

"The long chant over, the priests and attendants left the room, and now commenced a performance which was even more singular. One of the lepers brought forth a harp, and a wild and strange dance was immediately got up opposite our cots, and within ten yards of us. Many of the dancers were cripples, and the performance consisted of alternate singing and dancing. Out of such materials, the reader may, perhaps, imagine the kind of exhibition we were compelled to gaze upon. I have heard of a hornpipe in fetters—here was one on crutches. The horrible orgies were continued until near midnight, and as the actors in the scene were well supplied with liquor, the wild revel grew louder and more boisterous as the hours sped along. One by one, exhausted by their efforts,

they dropped off, and by the time the numerous city bells had tolled the hour of twelve, all again was quiet in our room save the groans of some unfortunate lazarinos who, from pain and infirmity, had been unable to join in ceremonies at once partaking of the grotesque and solemn."

War

THE WORLD did not come to an end in 1844, as the Millerites had exuberantly predicted; but there were other endings in this period. One was the opposition to the annexation of Texas. Another was control of politics by the aristocrats. The former would reap an almost immediate war. The latter would prepare for a still bloodier harvest a decade and a half later.

President John Tyler in April, 1844, submitted for Senate ratification a treaty he had negotiated for bringing the Republic of Texas into the Union. Louisiana was unanimously in favor of this, said the *Daily Picayune* on May 7. The antislavery movement which had forced the rejection of Texas in 1836 was even stronger now; moreover, Tyler, a Democrat who had succeeded to the presidency on the death of the Whig Harrison one month after the inauguration, was repudiated by the dominant party. In June the Senate rejected the treaty by a vote of 35 to 16.

But the expansion movement had filled the imagination of the people, and the Democrats made this their issue. Not only Texas, but Oregon, to which England laid claim, did their national convention that year demand; and they elected James K. Polk on that platform. The Senate reconsidered; one of Tyler's last acts, as President, was to sign the bill—March 3, 1845—admitting Texas.

"It is a sign and a token of perfect freedom from transatlantic dictation," said the *Daily Picayune* on March 8. Both England and France had schemed to prevent this expansion.

The *Daily Picayune* played an important part in the drama that was climaxed by the admission of Texas to the Union. Sensing the importance of this development almost from the first, it had correspondents in the principal Texas settlements and the ports of Mexico and became the clearinghouse for news of the struggling republic. Its reports on the increasing tension between Mexico and the United States and on the growth of annexation sentiment were reproduced throughout the nation's press.

When Captain Charles Elliot, *chargé d'affaires* of Great Britain, reached Texas in 1842 and began his scheming to have Mexico recognize Texas as a free-soil republic which would grow into a buffer state between the United States and Mexico with England given preferential advantages, the *Daily Picayune* trailed him like a bloodhound and exposed what it called, March 26, 1844, "the insidious policy of England." This was not newspaper exaggeration, for the paper clearly showed that England had an understanding with France and that the armed power of both nations were to be thrown on the side of Mexico to prevent annexation. Elliot became "the man with the white hat" in the *Picayune* reports and his mysterious comings and goings not only kept the people of Texas and of the United States in a state of turmoil, but also pointed the discussions and the policies of the American cabinet. Reporting reached a high peak when the *Daily Picayune* dogged Elliot to Mexico, at a time when he was supposed to be on a visit to the United States, and exposed his efforts to bring British, French, and Mexican plans for armed action into focus. This knocked the foundations from under the foreign-intervention scheming, and crystallized sentiment in Texas and the United States for annexation.

In 1845 Louisiana adopted a new Constitution. It was one of the milestones in the democratic revolt of this country. This revolt was begun by Thomas Jefferson and carried to new and broader implications by Andrew Jackson. The political leaders had been of the upper classes. Men no more thought of disputing the primacy

of certain families in Massachusetts than in Virginia. They voted, without dispute, for the presidential nominee chosen by Congressional caucus, until Jackson forced a democratic change. Jackson represented the decentralizing influence of the West, where men had long been released from the old influences and where a rugged environment evoked independence in thought and action; and it was a short step for the people to seize the power he had wrested from the dominant classes, in Congress and out, when he retired. Another decentralizing impulse was the inrush of new population—a tide of immigration which swelled from 100,000 in 1840 to 114,000 in 1845, to 297,000 in 1849, and to still larger figures in succeeding years: refugees from famine and fear and favoritism in Europe, resentful of control and thinking only of their own betterment. Public opinion began to shape itself and mold movements—party leaders were no longer able to set the pace, to hold the electorate to old interpretations and acceptances. Calhoun and Clay and Webster saw their great influence disappear before their death at mid-century. The people, thinking and acting for themselves, forced the break on the slavery issue.

Louisiana's Constitution of 1812 reflected the old aristocratic conception of government, that of 1845 the new tendency. Under the old system, for instance, the state was virtually a partner of the banks of issue. The *Picayune* had vigorously denounced class favoritism during the panic of 1837. Under the new Constitution, corporation operation was put under restraint. The Constitution of 1812 allowed the Legislature to choose the governor from the two candidates receiving the largest popular vote; the Constitution of 1845 gave the final choice to the people. It also created the office of lieutenant governor. Under the Constitution of 1812, officeholding was restricted to property-holders—to be eligible for governor, one had to have a landed estate worth at least \$5000; for senator, \$1000; for representative, \$500; and so on. Even the franchise had a property qualification. The Constitution of 1845 destroyed these class walls. Under the Constitution of 1812, the governor appointed all

judges and officers named in the fundamental law, with a few exceptions; under that of 1845, he could still appoint judges, the secretary of state, the attorney general, and the district attorneys; but sheriffs, clerks of court, and justices of the peace were elected.

The Constitution of 1845 had a clause against dueling. It provided for the disfranchisement of citizens who made that resort—a “stern penalty,” commented the *Daily Picayune* on December 5. It was, at least, greater progress than had yet been made. Two years before, there had been a movement to allow the insulted person to choose the weapons, taking that privilege from the challenged, who often provoked the issue because of that advantage; but nothing had come of this effort to tamper with the code of chivalry. The defect of the constitutional provision soon proclaimed itself in a fatal meeting, for the law did not apply when citizens of another state or country took part. Reviving its old crusade, the *Daily Picayune* demanded that the “odious custom” be suppressed. Dueling, it said on January 22, 1846, is “repugnant to civilization” and “only gratifies such as having no qualities to excite the admiration of mankind, besmear themselves with blood to awaken interest with children and fools.” When the survivor of that meeting was held in \$5000 bail, on February 6, the *Daily Picayune* believed that “a great moral reform is begun” and called on everyone “each in his own sphere and vocation, to assist in carrying out the reform . . . the cause of the hearthstone, of wife, children and friends.” But the case was dropped, the reform did not materialize, and soon the paper was chronicling in a few routine lines the tragedies of the field of honor. “He was discovered about eight o’clock [P.M.] in the place where he fell,” ran a typical report, September 18, 1846.

Mexico, when the Texas annexation bill was passed, took a war-like posture. It had denied Texas’ claims to the Rio Grande as the boundary line, and it prepared to resist the enforcement of those claims by this country. The new state was not fully incorporated into the Union until December, but in July, 1845, President Polk

sent General Zachary Taylor to the west bank of the Nueces, where today's Corpus Christi is located. Taylor took about eighteen hundred men. New Orleans became the point of embarkation and supply center. Every military organization in the state volunteered when Governor Alexander Mouton in August called for troops; before the month was out, the first companies sailed.

Though the *Daily Picayune* commented vigorously on Mexico's contemptuous attitude towards the United States—evident long before this crisis—it was never jingoistic. Even when the treatment of Kendall and the Santa Fé prisoners was still fresh in memory, it spoke constructively of Santa Anna on July 22, 1842, as the man best qualified to govern in that country. On January 15, 1845, it saw him as a "miserable dictator" and an "arrogant tyrant"; but did not change its position towards Mexico as a nation. On February 5, 1846, it referred to the "semi-belligerent attitude of the two countries" as the "worst possible condition of things for American interests." It hoped there would be no war.

The crisis reached a head in April, 1846, when Kendall was leisurely making his way to the Comanche Indian country in Texas to report the confection of a treaty with the white government; and when the *Daily Picayune* was talking about the fragrant cucumbers coming on the market, looking forward to the time when strawberries and dewberries would be in season, chronicling the election of A. D. Crossman to the mayoralty, and describing the worst street floods since 1837.

Taylor had advanced to the Rio Grande, and had thrown up Fort Brown where Brownsville now stands, opposite Matamoros, and on April 23, the Mexicans had crossed the river and ambushed a small body of American dragoons.

The news burst upon New Orleans in the *Daily Picayune* extra of May 2. "WAR!!!" proclaimed a twelve-point caption. In black caps, body type, the next line clarioned, "To Arms!! To Arms!!! General Taylor is Completely Surrounded."

Taylor called for more troops. Within a week the Louisiana

Legislature appropriated \$100,000, and the Washington, or First, Regiment, 1000 strong, under Colonel J. B. Walton, left, May 2, 1846, for the front. Other regiments followed.

The Mexican forces at Matamoros numbered 6000. On May 8, they attacked at Palo Alto, a few miles from that stronghold. Taylor, with 2111 sabers and bayonets, and ten guns, repulsed them; and the next day, at Resaca de la Palma, attacked and drove the Mexicans back across the Rio Grande.

One week later, the tidings reached New Orleans, and the *Daily Picayune* put out an extra at 10 P.M. Two days later, it issued another extra, announcing that Congress on May 11 had authorized the President to raise a force of 50,000 men and had appropriated \$10,000,000.

Taylor on May 18 crossed the Rio Grande and drove the Mexican garrison out of Matamoros. This is "no longer a defensive war—it is aggressive," commented the *Daily Picayune* on May 29, when it reported this third victory. On June 21 it presented its first news art—a four-column cut diagramming the battleground of Palo Alto.

Kendall, who had sent in dispatches from Houston, Columbus, San Antonio, and Austin, had in the meantime learned of the fighting, and was making his way to the front. Not until June 14 did he reach Matamoros. He found the place marvelously transformed, by American stores, juleps and ice. The next day he attached himself to Captain Ben McCullough's Rangers and began a series of scouting expeditions which covered hundreds of miles of Mexican territory, and in time took him to the immensely strong Monterey, 170 miles west of Matamoros, which Taylor captured after dogged fighting September 21–23. Before then, the United States had mustered out on August 4, 1846, the Louisiana regiments—the war department was not willing, it said, to build its machine with men on six-month enlistments.

The *Daily Picayune* reported the brilliant victory at Monterey on October 4. Taylor's incredible capture of the stronghold, de-

fended by heavily gunned fortresses on commanding hills and twice his manpower, coming so soon after three brilliant victories against similar odds, gave the world a new respect for American valor and dash, and was a factor in the peaceful settlement of the Oregon issue which a few months before had seemed almost a certain cause of war with England.

Some of the first reports of the war, in the *Daily Picayune*, were private letters received in New Orleans; for instance, the column and a half account of the bombardment of Fort Brown of May 8 and 9, which appeared May 21. But the paper soon put a regular correspondent at the front, C. M. Haile, a graduate of West Point, who sent in a remarkable series of dispatches from the Rio Grande, Monterey, and Vera Cruz, until he accepted a commission in the army and joined the column which marched to the City of Mexico.¹

Kendall wrote copiously but confined his efforts to color and background work, for which the Ranger scouting gave him unusual facilities. His troop had a number of brushes with the enemy, and in one of these Kendall captured a flag. His strong feeling for human interest was shown in his story of the soldier, June 26, 1846; of the Mexican excitement when steamboats began to push up the Rio Grande with supplies, July 8; and of the Fourth of July celebration in Matamoros, when the cannon went wild and the mosquitoes made new records, July 17. In the issue of August 29, he had a delightful story of early steamboat navigation of the Arkansas river, which is as good as anything Mark Twain wrote in his book on the Mississippi.

It was Haile who reported the fighting at Monterey—three columns in the extra of October 4, and four columns two days later. Kendall had nothing in the issue of the fourth, and his two and a quarter columns in that of the sixth were from Marin and San

¹ Haile for a long time edited a paper in Plaquemine. He was a brilliant man, keen in observation, and possessed of a sense of humor. He died in September, 1849. The *Daily Picayune* in an editorial of September 15 paid high tribute to his attainments and recalled his brilliant dispatches.

Francisco before the battle. On October 21, he had a lively account of Monterey after the American occupation, dated September 21. Though he did not sign the story, the internal evidence suggests that he wrote the analytical and connected account, ten columns, of the capture of Monterey which appeared in the extra of November 19. This was illustrated with an 11 by 12½-inch engraving of the battlefield and its environs. Kendall did this after his return to New Orleans, when military operations marked time while the United States gave Mexico a chance to sign a peace. Haile, too, returned.

Meanwhile, Lumsden had left New Orleans, June 15, for the front, and was sending back dispatches. He returned to the city September 5.

The *Daily Picayune* spared no expense to present as complete a coverage as was humanly possible. New Orleans was the clearing-house of war news for the United States; and the *Daily Picayune's* dispatches were widely copied. The press of material was so great that on December 4 the paper went to six pages. In the months that followed, six-page issues and extras became commonplace. To speed the news from Washington and from the East—especially the European news which cleared from New York—the *Daily Picayune*, with the *Baltimore Sun*, organized a pony express which beat the regular mail service by twenty-four to forty-eight hours, even seventy-two hours, at times.²

On one occasion, the express rider made the run from Montgomery to Mobile, 160 miles, in nine hours. The paper put compositors on the steamers which carried the mail from Mobile to New Orleans, and when the vessels docked, the news was in type, ready to be run off as soon as the Pontchartrain railroad and fast horses could deliver the forms to the press. To print the President's message of December 8—ten and a half columns—in a 1 P.M. extra on December 15, was a breath-taking achievement—one

² The route of this pony express was New Orleans to Mobile, by boat; then, by horse-back to Montgomery, Charleston, Richmond, Washington, and Baltimore.

of the many with which the *Daily Picayune* helped to create newspaper tradition.

Mexico continued fighting. Even the fall of Tampico on November 14 did not break its determination. As a further advance from Monterey was impracticable, from a military standpoint, the United States decided on a new attack.

The report of Tampico's capture reached the *Daily Picayune* on November 21, and gave a new fillip to Thanksgiving five days later. This was the second time Louisiana had observed that celebration. The first time was January 15, 1845.

Triumph

LUMSDEN, Haile, and Kendall returned to Mexico to report developments, first at Tampico and then at Vera Cruz. The first two remained on the job until April, 1847, when Lumsden, thrown by a horse and suffering a broken leg, returned to New Orleans; and Haile accepted a commission in the army. Kendall joined the expedition of General Winfield Scott, which made the amazing march from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico; and in this, the first war to be adequately and comprehensively reported in the daily press, created the tradition of the war correspondent who followed the troops into battle to get the news.

Zachary Taylor had become a national hero and was being boomed by the Whigs for the presidency. The growing strength of that party so alarmed the Democratic administration that it not only gave the command of the new thrust to Scott, but took the possibility of initiative from Taylor by sending many of his regiments to Vera Cruz. His force was reduced to five thousand men.

Santa Anna, with an army of twenty thousand, moved against Taylor, who fell back to the Hacienda of Buena Vista, five miles south of Saltillo, and there formed his desperate battle line. February 22 and 23 yielded Taylor an incredible victory. But not until the *Daily Picayune's* extra of the afternoon of March 22, 1847, did the news burst upon the United States.

Lieutenant J. J. Bibb, U.S.A., signed the column-and-a-quarter

story. On April 10 the paper printed fuller details—six and a half columns—giving Taylor's dispatches and listing the casualties; and in subsequent issues, completed the details of the picture. Taylor was a greater hero than ever.

Meanwhile, the attack on Vera Cruz, defended by the strong fortress of San Juan de Ulua, of which the people of New Orleans knew from the *Daily Picayune's* description on October 14, 1846, had begun. Kendall's first dispatches on that fight—dated March 11, 12, and 13—appeared on the twenty-fifth. In its extra of April 3, the *Daily Picayune* announced the fall of Vera Cruz on March 28.

Louisianians pressed to the new battle lines. In December, 1846, Colonel G. De Russy led an infantry regiment to Tampico. In May, 1847, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Filsca raised the battalion which served throughout Scott's campaign. In August of that year, Lieutenant Colonel Walker F. Biscoe raised a battalion of mounted volunteers who served as scouts on that difficult and dangerous march to the City of Mexico. In all, Louisiana sent about 4500 men to the Mexican campaign, and as many more were under arms in this state, ready for marching orders.

Scott began the long climb to the capital, sitting in its broad valley a mile and a half above sea level behind mountain ramparts—every pass made to order for surprise attack, a rugged terrain that left his communications under continuous threat.

At Cerro Gordo, on April 17-18, he met the enemy in overwhelming force and drove him from the commanding heights with such a rush that Santa Anna left behind his favorite game cocks to delight the gringo soldiery; and Ampudia, his second in command, who had been at Monterey, lost his hat. Kendall's report—three columns—appeared May 1.

He had attached himself to the staff of Major General W. J. Worth, and his reports were authoritative. They were "copied into almost every journal in the Union," as the *American Star* said. Moreover, as neither he nor his paper had ever taken a political bias, he was objective and historical in his reporting, not twisting

the facts—as other reportings did—to give undeserved credit to officers who thought as much of the political advantages at home as of the stern necessities in the field. “Mr. Kendall’s opinion carries more weight with it because it is free from party prejudice,” admitted the *Washington Union*. As he was always in the press of events, he did not have to force interest with the trivial feature stories which can be picked up in the dead quiet behind the battlefields. Nor did he draw on rumor, such as launched the *National’s* extra of August 1 announcing Scott’s entry into the City of Mexico on July 17, weeks before the army had begun that final drive. Kendall’s problem was to find time to write what he knew and to get it to the paper. Anyone who turns to the files of that period marvels at the volume he turned out—and the completeness of the coverage.

It took two weeks, sometimes longer, when the army was well in the mountains, to send a dispatch to New Orleans. The reports did not appear daily, first because there were not daily sailings from Vera Cruz, second because it was not always possible to send a courier through the guerilla-ridden country. Kendall had his own dispatch-riders, men chosen for their horsemanship, their knowledge of the country, and their courage. One was killed, defending his packet of dispatches. Others were forced back; others were captured and thrown into prison.

There were periods of dreadful anxiety in New Orleans, when the time between dispatches was long. “For two days,” said the *Daily Picayune* on August 22, 1846, “not a line of intelligence had reached us of more grave importance than a murder in Arkansas.”

Besides Kendall’s voluminous writings, the *Daily Picayune’s* coverage included everything it could find relating to the war. The editors ransacked their Eastern and European exchanges for intelligence that might add to the understanding of the situation from the national and international standpoint. They quoted voluminously from Mexican newspapers, secured from many sources. Santa Anna’s announcements received as heavy a play in New

Orleans as they did in the City of Mexico. Even without wasting space on headlines, it became a problem to pack the news, in small type, into the paper. Two-page supplements and extras became commonplace, and on December 11, 1847, the *Daily Picayune* went to eight pages, the largest paper it had ever published.

At Puebla the army made a long pause. The United States hoped that Mexico would ask for peace; but Mexico continued to fight. At the capital, women toiled on new fortifications, even the women of wealth and fashion. Scott resumed the march.

Because of his knowledge of Mexico, especially of the capital and the lay of the land in the broad valley—gained during his months of durance—Kendall became of increasing value to General Scott's campaign. President Polk's diary clearly states that he was one of the men who "controlled," by their advice, the decisions of that leader.

Crucial advice. For the approaches were threatening: the high tableland was rugged, with many deep canals and broad water-spreads crossed by narrow causeways; the fortifications were strong, and the City of Mexico was one masonry house after another, each capable of being strongly defended.

Scott reached the lofty valley. On August 20 he fought the battle of Churubusco—6000 Americans against 15,000 Mexicans, according to Kendall's dispatch, nearly two columns long, which appeared in the *Daily Picayune* of September 8. Kendall was cited for services in this battle by General G. A. Pillow's official report of August 24. The brilliant victory made New Orleans forget the yellow fever epidemic—"the most terrible and fatal" in the city's history, according to the *Daily Picayune* of October 22, with a death toll estimated at 5000. Molino del Rey, September 8, added new luster to American valor; then came the storming of the Castle of Chapultepec, September 13, and the entry into the City of Mexico on September 14. Six months after leaving Vera Cruz, Scott raised the American flag above the National Palace in the City of Mexico. Kendall's reports of these triumphs filled four columns

in the *Daily Picayune* on October 14. It seemed unreal, impossible, that they were at last in "the halls of the Montezumas," he wrote. The physical obstacles had been so great, the Mexican forces had been so overwhelming, the defenses had been so strong—the City of Mexico ringed with 92 batteries prepared for 346 guns, and 42 infantry breastworks. A triumph as fantastic as Cortez'—and a deep discouragement to the Democrats at home, for Scott, too, was a Whig, and he was also being boomed for the presidency.¹

There was, however, nothing unreal about the dead and the maimed of Mexico's battlefields. Kendall estimated the losses, since the army had moved from Puebla, at about 4000 men and 170 officers. The death toll continued to run high long after the occupation of the capital—assassination of soldiers, off duty, who wandered through the streets.

The carnage sickened Kendall. After reporting the restoration of a reasonable amount of law and order to the City of Mexico, and sending in some illuminating dispatches on general conditions, he put on a correspondent to report subsequent developments and left for home in November. He reached New Orleans without any newspaper fanfare, as modest as the "G.W.K." at the bottom of dispatches which made newspaper history and established him as the greatest war correspondent of the day.² From New Orleans, he left for a vacation in Europe, after a leisurely trip through the East.

Even now, Mexico seemed in no hurry to make peace. Santa Anna doggedly organized resistance in other parts of the country. Scott, in December, prepared to occupy as large a territory as he could with his forces, and imposed a tax on the conquered areas.

¹ For political reasons, President Polk put General W. O. Butler in command before the treaty of peace was concluded, and had General Scott tried on technical military charges.

² Considering the difficulties under which Kendall worked, and the fact that he was blazing new trails, he might be called the greatest war correspondent our country has known. He not only reported, he helped to shape events; he organized his own communications system and kept it functioning in daily changing conditions. He consistently scooped the field. The only measure of excellence is the extent of accomplishment in proportion to the facilities at hand; and by this measure, Kendall's work is without an equal.

Zachary Taylor brought the thrill of victory closer home to New Orleans by his brief visit in 1847—himself a symbol of this nation's rise and its astonishing achievement, for the career of this sixty-three-year-old warrior reached back through the Seminole and Black Hawk campaigns to the War of 1812, in which New Orleans had played such a mighty part. Simple, unaffected, 'friendly, he showed himself just the kind of man the South loved to take to its heart, this native of Virginia, raised in Kentucky, who had adopted Louisiana as his home and had a plantation near Baton Rouge.

Forty thousand persons, according to the *Picayune* estimate, jammed themselves into the Place d'Armes, upon the surrounding roof tops and in the near-by streets to roar a welcome, that sparkling Friday, December 3, when General Taylor came upriver in a water pageant of fourteen river craft, while batteries in three parts of the city hammered out a salute of one hundred guns each. Through a lane of soldiers he walked to the triumphal arch where Mayor A. D. Crossman welcomed him; then he entered the Cathedral to attend the *Te Deum* services which Bishop Blanc conducted. The crowd became a frenzy of joy when he appeared in the parade which escorted him through the city to the St. Charles hotel, astride Old Whitey, the horse that had borne him through so many battles and had drawn the fire of one battery at Buena Vista, so inured to stress and violence and sudden alarms that it did not flinch when enthusiasts dashed into the street and plucked souvenirs from its mane. Governor Isaac Johnson struggled through the dense throng to greet Taylor at the hotel. That night, while New Orleans tossed jocund fireworks at the stars, the general faced one of the most difficult campaigns of his life—a banquet such as only New Orleans could spread, its scope suggested by thirteen toasts; and, after that, an appearance at the St. Charles, American, and Orleans theaters. The Legislature presented him with a sword. "His presence here has made the town one scene of wild joy and happy commotion," summarized the *Daily Picayune*

on December 5, the day he left. In the same spirit, the city celebrated its third Thanksgiving, on December 9.

By the treaty of peace signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, Mexico recognized the Rio Grande as the boundary and ceded New Mexico, which then included Arizona and California.³

News of the treaty reached the United States on Sunday, February 13, through the *Daily Picayune*. The same issue reported the capture of Orizaba on January 26. No other newspaper in New Orleans printed more than a supposition that a peace had been signed. In its two-column report, the *Picayune* gave the substance of the treaty. On its next publication day, Tuesday, it presented fuller details about Orizaba, five and a half columns.

The dispatches reached the city on the steamer "New Orleans," which left Vera Cruz on the eighth and reached New Orleans late on the twelfth. The ship had been scheduled to leave on the sixth, but army orders held her in port two days so that the United States dispatch bearer who sailed on the "Iris" for Mobile, could hand the treaty to the government before the newspaper presented it to the people. The "New Orleans" forced its boilers and reached New Orleans almost at the same time that the "Iris" reached Mobile. The dispatch bearer left Mobile that night, Saturday. The *Picayune* publication left New Orleans by steamer, at 2 P.M. Sunday for Mobile, and the paper's express rider began the long race north from Mobile. He overtook the government's dispatch bearer, and the two pounded into Washington together on Saturday the nineteenth. The *Daily Picayune's* ally in Baltimore reprinted the story on Tuesday.

³ The United States had already seized California, where gold was discovered a few weeks before the signing of the treaty. It paid \$15,000,000 for this ceded territory of some 600,000 square miles. This introduced new frictions when the compromises of 1850 on slavery were adopted.

Mid-Century

KENDALL sailed for England from Boston, March 11, 1848. In London he stepped into the angry turmoil of the Chartists whose march on Parliament for a time threatened a copious blood-letting. This was a working-class movement, which began in 1838, for political and social reform. The reporter asserted itself in Kendall, and he sent in a brilliant coverage. To gather the material for the two and a half columns which the *Daily Picayune* printed on May 10, he was on his feet for six consecutive hours in the midst of the boiling mob.

From London he went to Paris, just in time for the revolution which cost Louis Philippe his crown. He was in the thick of the mobs there, and again heard the shriek of bullets, again watched death at the harvest.

All Europe was shaken by the revolutionary movement—republicanism and monarchism at desperate grips, as Kendall interpreted it. These conditions sent 297,000 emigrants to the United States in 1849.

Because of business repercussions, and because of other possibilities, European developments were of tremendous importance to the people of the United States, especially to a port like New Orleans. The *Daily Picayune*, for instance, devoted ten and a half columns of its issue of March 26, 1848, to the forced abdication of Louis Philippe. To have its own man on the ground, therefore, was a great advantage, especially when that man was Kendall.

Writing from London, Paris, Hamburg, and Brussels, he covered revolutionary Europe as he had covered the Mexican war—with thoroughness and penetration. It took nearly a month for his dispatches to cross the ocean, but they were authoritative, and worth the waiting. In the seven and a half months from May 10 to December 26, 1848, the *Daily Picayune* printed 48 letters from Kendall, totaling more than 71 columns of 2000 words each—142,000 words. In 1849 it printed 67 letters, more than 126 columns—252,000 words. Kendall sent in as much as 5½ columns at a time.

“He speaks his mind freely,” said a *Picayune* editorial, August 4, 1848. “He does not attempt to disguise his opinions about men or things; and his impressions and speculations are more valuable as they are announced without reserve, and come from one who can have no interest to subserve but the truth of history.”

Kendall's output was smaller in 1850. The news had sprung its largest sensations; he was honeymooning with his bride, the former Adeline de Valcourt, daughter of a French officer, whom he had married the year before; and he was writing his *War Between the United States and Mexico*, and superintending the making of the lithographs from the drawings of Charles Nabel, who had been with him in Mexico. The book, folio in size, with twelve illustrations, was published by Appleton and Company in 1851. The making of the lithographs was a slow process, taking sixty men a month to make 120 sets. The book sold for \$38.

Kendall returned on a short business trip to the East and New Orleans in June. He was received with acclaim by the press generally, but was almost ignored by the *Daily Picayune* because of his connection with it.

He made a trip into the West, and sent back a series from Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, in 1851; then he returned to Europe in time to begin a new series in 1852, for Louis Napoleon had risen to power, and there were other developments.

Domestic eventuations contested for space with foreign sensations. To meet the increasing news demands, the *Daily Picayune*

reduced the size of its type; and on October 17, 1848, launched its afternoon edition, four pages, published at two o'clock. This gave the newspaper a publication on Monday. But even with this double outlet, the paper was frequently forced to two- and four-page supplements.

The afternoon edition was established when the excitement of the Zachary Taylor campaign for the presidency was at the hottest. Even in Louisiana, the home state of the Whig nominee, the Democrats so fiercely contested the issue that the leaders of both parties had to sign an agreement to keep as much distance as possible between the rival demonstrations, lest rioters encarnadine the streets with blood.

The telegraph was giving better service than usual that November, and within thirty-six hours the *Daily Picayune* was able to print enough returns to show that Taylor was elected. His majority over Cass in New Orleans was only 972. The city fired a hundred guns.

A year and a half later, the same guns tolled the death of the President, which the *Daily Picayune* announced in a three-line telegram, July 11, 1850, two days after the event.

New Orleans' telegraph service began on March 30, 1848, when the line to Mobile went into operation. At about the same time, the United States put in the system of postage stamps, which England had invented seven years before; and the letter rate dropped to ten cents. The *Daily Picayune* printed its first telegraphic dispatch on April 2—market quotations. It instructed its Mobile correspondent to summarize by wire the important facts received by the pony express and to send fuller details by mail. On September 5, the line between New Orleans and Baton Rouge began to operate. Baton Rouge was then pushing a line to Memphis, already connected with "all points North and West and on the Lakes," in the large claims of a current advertisement; hence the *Daily Picayune* had hopes that before long, it would be able to put its readers in immediate touch with developments throughout this rapidly

expanding country. On April 2, 1849, was completed a line to Southwest Pass, to report ship arrivals.

But the service was a disappointment—not as dependable as the pigeon express which a few merchants in the East operated between incoming ships and the shore to get the market quotations from Liverpool a few hours earlier. “The telegraph at present is a systematic swindle,” said the *Daily Picayune* on August 17, 1848. Many dispatches were never delivered; others arrived days after the same news came by mail; others were so dreadfully “transmogrified,” by frequent relayings, that they were unintelligible. Moreover, dishonest operators sold copies of the paper’s dispatches to competitors, or held them up, so the opposition could score a beat. Not until 1849 could the *Daily Picayune* get a telegram within two days after it had been dispatched from an Eastern city, and such speed was rare. The service evoked its indignation frequently in 1850. It continued the pony express well beyond mid-century.

On January 19, 1848, James W. Marshall, who was building a sawmill near Coloma, California, picked up a few yellow flakes in a mill race. The news drifted back through the wilderness and touched off the gold rush—the greatest shift of population this country has ever seen in such a short space of time. Forty-two thousand Americans went to California that first year; between 1845 and 1850, the population grew from 5000 to 92,597; and California in 1850 became the first state in the western part of this country—its nearest neighbor 2000 miles away.¹

Like a crevasse, the news of gold roared through the columns of the paper. If Kendall had not been so busy with Europe’s revolutions, he would have gone to California. Each incredible report that the *Daily Picayune* printed was outdone by the next one received. The paper printed letters and diaries of men who made the gold rush; described the different routes to California—2000 miles

¹ In five years California produced \$258,000,000 of gold, as compared with a \$12,000,000 production for this entire country up to that time.

overland, via the desert; 5000 via the fever-laden Isthmus of Panama; 19,500 around Cape Horn in sailing ships. When the paper put on regular correspondents, it increased the space devoted to California. The arrival of the "Crescent City," June 10, 1849, with \$1,000,000 in gold dust and many bronzed miners returning to "the States" for a grand blowout, threw New Orleans into a new frenzy. Soon the mint was turning out gold dollars, tiny and beautiful.²

From one of the advertisements of the period, we get an idea of what the California adventurer considered the most essential part of his equipment: "Colt's repeaters and rifle pistols; United States Yauger rifles; belt pistols; cavalry pistols and genuine derringer pistols; double guns; rifles; Bowie knives and hunting knives; flasks, pouches, canteens, percussion caps."

Men began to talk of a transcontinental railroad, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on May 11, 1849. Others, who believed this too visionary, agitated for a railroad across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico. The *Daily Picayune* supported this proposal vigorously.

On November 13, 1849, it began to issue a California edition whenever a ship sailed for California via Panama. The news was a month old when it arrived, but it was the latest from "home." At intervals of about two weeks, the paper put out this edition until well into 1859.³

New Orleans counted many blessings when it celebrated Thanksgiving on December 21, 1848. The scars of war were falling off, the election was over, business was good. The people did not know that cholera was in their city, though two days before

² Costing \$182,000, the United States mint in New Orleans was built in 1836. On its site, Andrew Jackson had reviewed troops before marching to Chalmette. The mint operated from 1838 to the capture of New Orleans by Federals in 1862; it resumed in 1879 and continued until 1910. In 1931 the building was remodeled into a Federal prison.

³ Files of the *Daily Picayune* show a California edition as late as June 27, 1859.

the festival their favorite newspaper had warned that the "filthiness" of the streets was "enough to engender disease." Cholera made its presence known before the holiday season was sped, and killed fourteen hundred persons, according to Dr. E. D. Fenner's figures, printed in the *Daily Picayune* of January 28, 1849.⁴

Barely had New Orleans recovered from that shock when the flooding Mississippi burst through the levee in front of Pierre Sauvé's plantation, seventeen miles above the city, and the crevasse threatened to engulf New Orleans, not protected against back waters by the levee system which has since been built. Five hundred men struggled to close the break; but the swift current hurled timber rafts, like battering rams, against the piles they drove, the sandbag protection they raised, and the ship they sunk in the gap; steadily the breach widened. Only a year before, in jocular comment on a drainage system that was not equal to the torrential rainfall, the *Daily Picayune* had said on February 3, 1848: "Navigation was opened in Bayous Camp, St. Charles, Canal and several other thoroughfares, much to the benefit of the community at large, the physicians and undertakers particularly." Now the city was entirely surrounded by water, which daily, hourly, crept nearer and grew deeper. "Is there no hope for the city?" asked the caption to a *Picayune* editorial of May 17, 1849, reflecting the panic of those days. The flood filled Canal street as far in as Dauphine; it reached to Baronne street; it crept towards Carondelet street. It was two to three feet deep. With skiffs picking up and dropping passengers, the Baronne-Common street intersection "presents the appearance of a regular ferry landing," recorded the *Daily Picayune* on May 27. Two hundred and twenty squares of the city were covered by this crevasse backwater; twelve thousand persons were driven from their homes; it was necessary to organize a Relief Committee to look after the destitute. Not until the river had spent its fury—on June 18—was the breach in the levee mended: the

⁴ Cholera was swift and dreadful. In the 1832 visitation, it carried off 6000 victims in twenty days.

cost of putting in that plug was almost \$100,000, according to the *Picayune* report of July 13.⁵

Five new states entered the Union in the 1840-50 decade, bringing the total to thirty-one; this country increased its population from 17,069,453 to 23,191,876. Louisiana increased its population, during the same period, from 352,411 to 517,762. It erected nine more parishes, bringing the total to forty-six, as follows: in 1843, Bossier, with a population of 6962; DeSoto 8023; Franklin 3251; Sabine 4415; and Tensas 9040; in 1844, Morehouse 3913; and Vermilion 3409; in 1845, Jackson 5566; and in 1848, Bienville 5539. New Orleans increased its population from 102,193 to 116,375.⁶

The city was booming. The *Daily Picayune* on May 3, 1849, waxed eloquent over the bold projects which were "piercing the very heart of the swamp, reclaiming an immense quantity of valuable land . . . for ages covered with thick masses of rank vegetation"; and boldly predicted that "in time," there would be a street all the way "from the river to the New [Basin] Canal." The cornerstone of the customhouse, designed by A. T. Wood, was laid February 22, that same year, on the site of old Fort St. Louis; City Hall, a three-story structure of marble and granite, designed by James Gallier, Sr., in the Grecian Ionic style, was rising and would be ready for occupancy in May, 1853; the St. Louis Cathedral was being remodeled and enlarged, its two rounded towers yielding to three steeples of J. N. B. De Pouilly's design, and would be consecrated December 7, 1851; the aging Micaela, baroness of Pontalba whose youthful escapades had driven her father-in-law to attempted murder and suicide, began a happier memory of herself in the two four-story Renaissance structures of red brick and ornamental iron work flanking the Place d'Armes, soon to be re-

⁵ Commenting on this flood, the *Daily Picayune* said, November 20, 1892: "In 1849 . . . there was a sort of Egyptian Nile inundation of New Orleans. From Carondelet street, vaguely out to the Indian wigwams of Mississippi and Alabama, was one wild waste of water. . . . Reporters went around in dugouts; the carriers delivered the paper in boats."

⁶ Population figures are from the census of 1850.

named Jackson Square in honor of the hero of Chalmette. Esplanade and Rampart streets were becoming "magnificent under the touch of architecture"; and Claiborne was beginning to rival "the Parisian boulevards," said the *Daily Picayune* on July 12, 1850. Daniel H. Holmes's new store set another standard for Canal street—a four-story structure, in Gothic architecture, which, according to the *Daily Picayune* report of September 20, 1849, was "the most beautiful edifice ever erected for mercantile purposes in New Orleans."⁷

A fire made it possible for the city to open a narrow thoroughfare between Camp and St. Charles streets, in 1850. The authorities wished to make it a full street, but bowed to the wishes of the *Daily Picayune* and neighborhood merchants, who urged the advantages of quiet over the clatter of street traffic. An editorial of December 11 announced that the name was Commercial Alley. Substantial buildings began to rise there in 1851.

But if the *Daily Picayune* pointed with pride, it also viewed with alarm. It—and the thinking part of the community—realized what railroads were doing to economic geography. "Railroads and canals intersecting the Valley of the Mississippi in all directions," it said, September 8, 1850, were "challenging the supremacy of the river which had made New Orleans." On November 14, 1851, it said: "With the exception of the main stem of the Mississippi, the rivers of the Southwest furnish no transportation for the immense products which rely exclusively upon them for access to market. The Ohio and its tributaries are not available for freights; the Arkansas is abandoned, and the Red river unnavigable. Travel upon them has dwindled to a moderate per cent of the thousands who formerly peopled the steamers which plied them. . . . When the system of [rail]roads connecting New York and Boston and Charleston with the Valley of the Mississippi shall have been completed, the contest for the trade of the river states will be a for-

⁷ Holmes announced the opening of the store, Monday, October 15, 1849, in five lines of Pearl type, the smallest in the *Daily Picayune's* cases.

midable one." The newspaper quoted census figures, March 28, 1852, showing that to January 1 of that year, there were 10,814 miles of railroad in operation in the United States, and of that total Louisiana had only 63—only Delaware, Rhode Island, Texas, and Wisconsin had smaller railroad development.

New Orleans should have been a leader, but it had seen its hopes for the Nashville line disintegrate in some rusty rails in the swamps a few miles from the city; it had seen the Mexican Gulf Railway's bid for an Eastern connection lose itself at Proctorville, or Shell Beach, on Lake Borgne, twenty-eight miles away, and now the Mexican Gulf was so poorly maintained that the engine ran off the track four times in one day, and moreover the line was estopped by the Third Municipality from extending itself from the terminal at Good Children, or St. Claude, and Champs Elysées, or Elysian Fields, streets to connect with the Carrollton and Lafayette line. The Third Municipality feared the diversion of business.

"The people of New Orleans should cease dreaming," said the *Daily Picayune*, October 2, 1850. It denounced the city's "apathy" on November 17. Enterprise was at a sorry pass when even the ice companies would not make deliveries, as they did in Northern cities where the consumption was much less.

When some bold spirits in 1849 proposed the building of a line from New Orleans, or Madisonville, if the crossing of Lake Pontchartrain were too costly a problem, to Jackson, Mississippi, the *Daily Picayune* endorsed the project with enthusiasm. By its continual agitation it shook New Orleans out of its do-nothing complacency when interest died, after the first meeting in Monticello, Mississippi, and revitalized the project. On May 4, 1850, it presented a proposal for a six-mile railroad along the river front to serve the port commerce—the seed which eventually grew into the Public Belt. It supported other railroad proposals—a line to Opelousas, an extension into Texas. Impressive and unrelenting was the *Daily Picayune's* railroad campaign in the 1850's.

It agitated for the financing, with Southern, especially New Or-

leans, capital, of a railroad or a canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Mexico; and of a railroad across the upper end of Florida, so that the port would have quicker and cheaper transportation facilities with the west and the east coasts.

The power and the possibilities of New Orleans and Louisiana, the *Daily Picayune* symbolized in the title-line vignette which it adopted on November 12, 1849—a heroic figure holding a horn of plenty against a background which included the state pelican, a river steamboat, a sailing vessel, and cane and cotton fields.

Fire destroyed the *Picayune* plant on February 16, 1850. Twenty-two buildings in that block went down. Printed on the press of the *Crescent*, the paper issued as usual next morning. It missed only four issues of the afternoon paper and resumed that publication when one of the presses was dug out of the ruins of a fallen wall which had protected it from the fire.⁸ The *Daily Picayune* immediately ordered new equipment, bought the site on which the building had stood, and began to build—the first newspaper in New Orleans to erect its own plant.

On November 3, 1850, it printed a two-column "housewarming" editorial. The new home, 66 Camp street by the period's system of numbering, was larger and better equipped than the old—a four-story structure which ran through the block, with a granite façade, a verandah decorated with iron scroll-work, and marble mantels in the editorial and business offices. The first floor was devoted to the business office and the pressroom; the second to the editorial department and paper storage; the third to the job office; and the fourth to the composing department. A dumb-waiter, with a bell, speeded interoffice communication on all four floors; an elevator, operated by steam, transported heavy material. There were many gas jets—consumption of gas, 7000 cubic feet a week.

There were three Hoe cylinder presses for the newspaper and a

⁸ The *Commercial Bulletin*, when it was burned out, in 1851, did not resume publication for six days.

Napier for the job department—besides a number of hand presses. All were sheet-fed, by hand. The bed of two of the Hoes measured $28\frac{1}{4}$ by $41\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of the third 36 by 60 inches; the bed of the Napier 27 by 32 inches.

Power was supplied by a coal-burning steam engine with a $5\frac{3}{4}$ -inch cylinder and a $23\frac{1}{2}$ -inch stroke. The boiler was 3 feet in diameter and 15 feet in length; it operated at 120 pounds' pressure. The editorial made a point of the fact that the entire power equipment had been made in New Orleans.

The paper then employed six men in the business office, eight in the editorial department not including the proprietors, and twelve in the pressroom; it could work as many as fifteen in the job shop, and forty in the composing department.

Lumsden that same year had a close brush with death. On December 15, he and a large number of guests were on the steamboat "Anglo-Norman," making a trial run. Opposite Carrollton, the boiler exploded. The blast roared through the deck about three feet from the senior editor. Many persons were killed; Lumsden's hat was blown off, but he was not injured.

A few days later, the "Knoxville," backing out from the wharf at Poydras street, blew up. These were typical steamboat disasters of the period. Moved by the "reckless disregard of human life" in river transportation, the *Daily Picayune* demanded the passage of laws enforcing a stricter inspection.

Prosperity

NEW OPINIONS formed, new purposes took shape in the 1850-60 decade under the influence of steam transportation and electrical communication; new developments became possible as men increasingly felt the power of massed and mechanized effort.

Three thousand words a day and more of history-making events poured into the *Daily Picayune* over the improved telegraph service; and the laying of the trans-Atlantic cable in 1858 promised to make next-door neighbors of the overseas countries.¹ The *Daily Picayune* had mail correspondents in the principal cities of this country and in some European capitals.

Lajos Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, led a gallant, if unsuccessful, fight for his country's freedom; forced to flee, in 1848 he visited England, the United States, and France in the hope of enlisting their aid against Austria. In New Orleans he was given an ovation at a mass meeting in Lafayette Square on March 30, 1852. His tour precipitated a new style in men's hats—a black felt with gay ribbon and feather, which the *Daily Picayune* considered "ludicrous." Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry, sent by President Millard Fillmore, pierced the isolation of Japan on July 8, 1853, and opened a new era of that nation—and of the world. The Crimean War

¹ The cable went dead after Queen Victoria's ninety-word message to President James Buchanan flashed across the ocean in sixty-seven minutes. The *Daily Picayune* printed the message on August 17, 1858. Nearly a decade would pass before steady service was established.

broke out, and Sebastopol fell on September 9, 1855. The Indian Mutiny exploded in 1857; the insurgents entered Delhi on May 11, and for the next year England fought to restore order. From New Orleans, William Walker carried freedom's revolution into Central America from 1856 to his execution there in 1860; Lopez tried to win independence for Cuba in 1851, and for a time there was a strong movement in this country to buy Cuba from Spain. Men urged the digging of a canal across Florida in 1852, and across the Isthmus of Panama in 1853; despite the strong opposition of England, De Lesseps in 1859 began the Suez canal. To all of these developments, the *Daily Picayune* devoted a large space, correctly appraising their broad implications.²

In the United States the Free-Soil candidate did not poll as heavy a vote during the presidential campaign of 1852 as in 1848. Franklin Pierce, Democrat, defeated Winfield Scott, Whig, and the Whig party passed out. But, though the American party, the Know-Nothings, which succeeded it, was as friendly to Southern interests as the Democratic, inasmuch as it believed in a nonintervention policy by the Federal government regarding slavery, the slavery agitation steadily grew stronger, and concentered itself around the Republican party, which the explorer John Charles Frémont headed in the campaign of 1856. He ran third, but made an impressive showing. Louisiana helped elect the Democratic winner, Buchanan, for whom it cast 22,034 votes; but it gave Fillmore, running on the American ticket, 20,593.

In New Orleans the American party supported the candidacy of Gerard Stith for the mayoralty in 1858 against Colonel P. G. T. Beauregard. Stith had been composing room foreman of the *Daily Picayune*. Violence for a time hovered close. Stith's partisans entrenched themselves in Lafayette Square with a cannon; Beauregard's seized the arsenal and courthouse and fortified Jackson Square. "The movement is revolutionary," said the *Daily Pica-*

² For instance, in the issue of October 21, 1855, the *Daily Picayune* devoted six columns of type and half a page of art to the Sebastopol situation.

yune on June 4. But the storm blew over, and there was a quiet election. Stith won.

Susan B. Anthony began her great work for woman suffrage. Towards this movement the *Daily Picayune* was unsympathetic in its comment of November 1, 1855. That, too, was revolutionary.

The *Daily Picayune* shook a gloomy finger at the bloomer costume which came in with the decade. It contemplated this enormity from a distance, for, though bloomers inflamed the East, they did not appear in New Orleans until two years later.³

Baseball began to challenge cricket in the 1850's. Sometimes it was played with ten men to a side, which stirred the *Daily Picayune* to protest. On August 14, 1859, it called emphatic attention to the rules, which specified nine.

Prize fighting made some headway in the East but failed to win approval in New Orleans; it was a "barbarism," said the *Daily Picayune*, January 19, 1859, that was "demoralizing and disgusting"—an "injury inflicted upon society," it added, May 9, 1860.

Last Isle, a fashionable watering place in Louisiana, was destroyed in the hurricane of August 10, 1856; and four days later, the *Daily Picayune* began printing the dismal details of the tragedy in which 150 persons were drowned.⁴

Blondin walked across Niagara Falls on a tight rope in 1859.

³ The *Daily Picayune*'s first fears about bloomers were that they portended women's demand for the right to wear pants. Woman-suffrage agitation confirmed its gloomy analysis. The Varieties theater of New Orleans turned the bloomer furore to happy account with its farce, *The Bloomers*, in 1851. When Paul Small appeared on the streets of New Orleans on July 4 of that year, clad in the disturbing garb, the excitement was almost as great as it had been in Lowell, Massachusetts, where a crowd of men and boys followed bloomer-wearing women, booing and bellowing. Paul was arrested, reprimanded by the recorder, and fined \$10 for "unsexing himself," in the words of the police blotter. Not until Sunday, July 11, 1852, did the first feminine-flaunted bloomers appear in New Orleans. By that time, the shocking possibilities were found to be greatly overrated, and there was no excitement; but the *Daily Picayune* was happy to chronicle, August 17, 1856, that hoop skirts were achieving a "Roman triumph."

⁴ Last Isle was later immortalized by Lafcadio Hearn in *Chita*. Working on the *Item* and the *Times-Democrat* of New Orleans, 1878 to 1887, Hearn distinguished himself as much by his writing as by his habits, the former as the flower springing from the dirt of the latter. *Chita* appeared in 1889.

Louisiana's Legislature moved to Baton Rouge in 1849, under the administration of Governor Marshall Walker, and occupied the \$100,000 castle which James H. Dakin built on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi river.⁵ Three years later the state adopted a new Constitution, and New Orleans consolidated its city government. Supported by the *Daily Picayune*, both developments were the result of the booming prosperity, which reached its climax in the passing of an era, when the decade ended.

The Constitution was adopted by a majority of 3282 in the election of November 2, in which the state cast 36,000 votes. It was another step in democratic principles. It made every citizen eligible for office, and increased the number of elective offices, including judgeship on the Supreme Court. It reduced the requirements of suffrage to twelve months' residence in the state, six in the parish. It enlarged the system of public education, emphasized by the will of John McDonogh, who died in 1850, leaving \$1,000,000 to the New Orleans Public School system. It removed certain restrictions on corporations, allowed the Legislature to incur reasonable debts for public development, and set up a board to supervise such undertakings.

In a series of editorials the *Daily Picayune* showed that conditions which had made necessary the division of New Orleans into three municipal governments in the 1830's had been outgrown in the 1850's. Old jealousies and antagonisms had passed; the American section of the city, from its struggling beginnings, had become predominant; the economic methods of the newcomers had been proved and accepted by the Creole element which had formerly opposed them. Consolidation was formally effectuated April 12, 1852. The City of Lafayette had already been incorporated with New Orleans by Legislative Act of February 13. New Orleans was divided into eleven wards, represented by twelve aldermen and

⁵ Burned in 1862, after being used as a military prison and a barracks by Union soldiers; restored in 1883, it served as the capitol until 1932, when the \$5,000,000 tower structure, the present seat of government, was completed,

twenty-seven assistant aldermen; the executive power was vested in the mayor, two recorders, treasurer, comptroller and surveyor, and street commissioner, elected to two-year terms. A. D. Crossman, Whig, was elected mayor by a majority of 115.⁶

Later in 1852 the city passed an ordinance to grant a twenty-five-year franchise for operating horsecars. "This will break down all lingering distinctions which still exist among the component parts of the city," said the *Daily Picayune* on December 23. Years passed before this development could be financed, for the cost of laying track would be \$7000 a mile, according to its estimate of October 14, 1858, and the omnibuses promised strong competition. Not until 1860 did the first streetcar reach New Orleans. Its seating capacity was eighteen. The *Daily Picayune* of September 7 chronicles the excitement when it showed a speed equal to that of an omnibus.

That newspaper in 1851 began to urge the establishment of a naval station in New Orleans.

It was the drive behind the movement which increased railroad operation in Louisiana, during the decade, from 63 to 419 miles. Sparing no words in attacking the "lethargy" of the business leadership of city and state, it was the stop, look, and listen warning of economic changes already making themselves felt.⁷ It saw the opening of a new period of development in 1852, when New Orleans voted to subscribe \$3,000,000 to stock in the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern, and the Opelousas railroads. The former, opening Mississippi Valley territory to the north, later became part of the Illinois Central system, which had been incorporated in 1851 to connect Chicago with Cairo, Illinois; the latter, opening the lands to the west, later became part of the Southern Pacific. Grading work on the Jackson road began October 4, 1852; the line reached Osyka, at the Mississippi state line, 88 miles away,

⁶ Crossman reached New Orleans in 1829 with \$5 in his pocket. He opened a store on Canal street and built himself into a strong business influence. He was elected to the Municipal Council of the First District, the Creole section. He became mayor in 1846.

⁷ See also the discussion of railroad development in the chapter, "Mid-Century."

on August 6, 1854, after solving the problem of the marshes between the city and Manchac by cribbing laid on planks, and a regular service of three trains a week, each way, was put in; the rails entered Jackson, Mississippi, March 31, 1858; and the company absorbed the Mississippi and Canton road, which connected Jackson with Canton, 24 miles farther north.⁸ Two hundred and six miles from the New Orleans depot at Calliope and Magnolia streets! At Canton the line connected with the Mississippi Central, which ran to Jackson, Tennessee; and other connections made it possible to travel from New Orleans to New York in four and a third days—fare \$48.⁹ On October 12, 1855, the *Daily Picayune* announced that the Opelousas line had laid rails from Algiers to Tigerville, at the junction of Tiger and Black bayous in Terrebonne parish; that Bayou Goula was the next objective; that Texas would be next, and ultimately the Pacific coast.

Other railroad possibilities the newspaper also championed—a line from New Orleans to Mobile, from New Orleans to St. Louis, and so on. It devoted an astonishing amount of space to railroads, not only in its immediate territory, but throughout the South. Since New Orleans was the economic leader of the South, it is not stretching probabilities to say that the city's most influential and most widely read newspaper was part of the inspiration that increased railroad construction throughout the South to 8794 miles before the decade was out.

When railroad development was put under way, the *Daily Picayune* turned its efforts to the next most important undertaking, as it said May 5, 1853, for the progress of New Orleans. This was the clearing of the swamps between the city and Lake Pontchartrain, a weary expanse of evil-smelling slush and stagnant water covered with a cypress growth so dense that the wind-blown pollen yel-

⁸ The cost of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern to Canton, Mississippi, was \$9,000,000, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 21, 1860.

⁹ *Daily Picayune* advertisements in 1859. Five years before, it had taken Kendall seven days and three hours to cover the same distance. Kendall's letter, *Daily Picayune*, March 12, 1854.

lowed the rain, the breeding place of moccasins and alligators, of insect pests, and deadly fevers. Against this stagnation the city's drainage could find no runoff, and the *Daily Picayune's* frequent reference to the "horrible condition of the streets" showed how exigent the problem of sanitation became with each growth in population.¹⁰

Not even flood control, on which a book by Charles Ellet, Jr., advocating reservoirs and artificial outlets in addition to the twelve hundred miles of levees, had appeared in 1852; not even the deepening of the river's mouth to admit the larger ships needed to carry the increasing foreign trade, on which a Memorial had been sent to Congress in 1852 and for which New Orleans continued to agitate throughout the decade, offered larger difficulties. The cost would be tremendous; mechanical equipment of the day was not equal to the job. Little was accomplished in this direction; not until the present century were the great plans carried through. The fact that the city then considered the challenge at all bears witness to the determination of that highly creative period.

There were financial crises in 1854 and 1857 as a result of national and international conditions. With many banks suspending payment, that of the latter year assumed the proportions of a panic; and in 1858 there was a crevasse, when the levee in front of John M. Bell's plantation, a few miles above the city on the west side of the Mississippi, collapsed, and water invaded half of Algiers.¹¹

In the summer of 1853 New Orleans was attacked by the most malignant epidemic of yellow fever in its history. City authorities ordered that tar be burned in the streets and that cannon be fired morning and evening; doctors cupped, bled, starved, purged, dosed

¹⁰ Canal street's neutral ground, for instance, had become a "receptacle of refuse." *Daily Picayune*, January 5, 1854. "Not one street in the city is in proper condition. Dirt, filth, nuisances of almost every description are to be seen everywhere." *Daily Picayune*, January 5, 1860.

¹¹ *Daily Picayune*, May 16, 1858, said that New Orleans had been partially inundated by crevasse water when the levees broke above the city, five times—in 1785, 1791, 1799, 1816, and 1849. No levee at New Orleans has ever broken.

with quinine, and sweated their patients under double blankets in tightly shuttered rooms where fires were kept burning.¹² The disease swept 8232 victims into hastily dug graves, according to the *Daily Picayune's* report of October 16. In 1854, yellow fever returned and destroyed nearly 2500.

As a result of these visitations the Legislature, in 1855, passed the law establishing a Board of Health and adopting the safeguard of quarantine.¹³ The *Daily Picayune* was a leader in the campaign, which was a stiff one, for there were many who believed that there should be no tampering with Providence; besides, to advertise the possibility of yellow fever before all the world knew that the city had become a death-house might hurt business.

Recovery after every setback was rapid. On December 19, only two months after the epidemic of 1853 had been officially declared to be over, 17,308 bales of cotton, worth \$700,000, were received in New Orleans. The city celebrated Thanksgiving on December 22. Its business was again booming, its streets were surging with life, its plans were expanding.

There was much building to replace fire losses and to provide for enlarging needs. Mechanics' Institute, on the site now occupied by the University Place side of the Roosevelt hotel, was finished in 1852, burned in 1854, and was rebuilt in 1857. The St. Charles hotel, burned in 1851, was rebuilt by 1853. Odd Fellows' Hall, facing Lafayette Square and erected on the site of the present post office, was dedicated November 22, 1852. The Academy of Music,

¹² In contrast with these drastic methods, Negro mammies applied what was called the "Creole treatment." They did not bleed, but confined their ministrations to hot mustard foot baths, hot aromatic teas, and castor oil. This gave nature a chance to repair the ravages of disease in a system not weakened by bloodlettings and exhausting emetics and purgatives; and the mortality was considerably less. The same was also true of the homeopathic treatment.

¹³ In 1821 the Legislature set up a Board of Health and established a quarantine station at English Turn, but the law was repealed four years later. In 1841 the City Council created a Board of Health which lasted three years. In 1844 the Medico-Chirurgical Society of New Orleans acted as a board of health by request of the municipal authorities, but its efforts were ineffective. Yellow fever in 1858 carried off 4855 victims; but improving methods of treatment cut the toll to 92 in 1859, and to 15 in 1860.

below the St. Charles theater, was built in 1853;¹⁴ the Varieties theater, burned in 1854, was rebuilt; and the granite bulk of the customhouse, begun in 1849, was slowly rising under the technical supervision of Beauregard: by the end of the decade it would consume \$2,600,000, according to the *Daily Picayune's* report of April 3, 1859, and would still be far from completion. In 1857 Algiers launched two drydocks. They had lifting capacities of 5000 and 9000 tons, respectively.

A movement to erect a monument to Andrew Jackson took shape early in 1851. Chosen for its location, the Place d'Armes was renamed Jackson Square.¹⁵ Workmen began to lay the foundation January 23, 1855; Clark Mills's equestrian statue, weighing 20,000 pounds and costing \$30,000, was unveiled February 9, 1856, to the booming of artillery.

"The largest assemblage of people we have ever seen in New Orleans," in the words of the *Daily Picayune*, took part in the ceremonies, December 9, 1852, honoring the memories of John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster, whose lives had meant so much to the greatness of the country and whose deaths on March 31, 1850, June 29, 1852, and October 24, 1852, respectively, marked the end of a national point of view.

The cornerstone of the Henry Clay monument, on Canal street at the St. Charles-Royal intersection, was laid April 12, 1856, and the heroic bronze was unveiled April 12, 1860, the birth anniversary.¹⁶

Through the decade, the *Daily Picayune* emphasized the importance of developing manufactures in the South, in order to balance the agricultural economy and to give the South the benefit of the tariff which was dividing the country into a House of Montagues and a House of Capulets. It jubilantly announced, April 13, 1856,

¹⁴ A parking lot now occupies the site.

¹⁵ Congo Square, also known as Circus Place, was renamed the Place d'Armes. This was subsequently renamed Beauregard Square.

¹⁶ The statue was moved to Lafayette Square in 1901 because of increasing traffic demands.

that by a process of destructive distillation, oil could be made from rosin; and that this new product would take the place of whale oil, which had risen in price from 19 to 95 cents a gallon since 1840. Thereby, a new source of wealth in the enormous pine forests of the South was opened. Organized with a production capacity of 1000 gallons a day, the Southern Oil Company turned out a lubricant which the *Daily Picayune* reported on April 15, 1859, after use on its own presses, was better than "the best lard oils." On July 1 it said progress was being made on developing a burning fluid.

Postal deliveries throughout New Orleans began August 11, 1851, five months after the letter rate dropped to 3 cents for three thousand miles. The last previous reduction had been in 1846, when the charge was cut from 25 to 10 cents.

The oyster loaf was invented, or at least its endearing charms were given their first conspicuous recognition.¹⁷ By 1856 ice had become a necessity, and New Orleans was consuming 40,000 tons a year, as the *Daily Picayune* recorded on July 6. Only New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore used more. Advantages of uniforming the police were urged by that newspaper in 1855, and in 1860 the city fathers were still debating the issue. Mardi Gras had so degenerated that on March 5, 1851, the *Daily Picayune* called for the discontinuance of street masking, then distinguished by the "vulgarity" of "lubberly boys," as it complained on February 6, 1856; but the Krewe of Comus saved the observance: its first pageant, February 24, 1857, stirred the editor's enthusiasm.

As population grew, the water problem became increasingly acute. Cisterns, or above-ground tanks which caught the rainwash from the roofs, were emptied during the frequent drouths, and the public waterworks were inadequate.¹⁸ When there were fires, the

¹⁷ At "Sam's Saloon," 101 St. Charles street, old number, "a big loaf of bread is dug out . . . any quantity of delicious fried or broiled oysters is piled in . . . a gentleman can carry home his loaf and his 'dozen' all hot." *Daily Picayune*, December 5, 1851.

¹⁸ "The dry plague follows us into the streets. Every passing vehicle, even our own tread, stirs up a cloud of dust. The fine particles get into our clothes, penetrate into mouth, ears and nostrils. The atmosphere gets hazy with powder, and we breathe dust instead of air." *Daily Picayune*, October 8, 1852.

supply was quickly exhausted, and the fire burned until there was nothing left. Not often was the *Daily Picayune* able to make such an encouraging report as it did on March 4, 1851, when it said that Banks' Arcade had been only partially destroyed, and "everything valuable in the Arcade barroom was saved."

Seeking to tap an artesian supply, the city began boring with an earth auger in 1855; but after a year and a half it was able to get down only six hundred feet after passing through six layers of ancient cypress forests, according to the *Daily Picayune* of July 24, 1856. The operation was abandoned, for with the available equipment, it was impossible to force the casing pipe deeper. A million-dollar fire on April 7, 1859, again emphasized the importance of an adequate water supply, and the next year the city began construction of a new water system, to cost \$300,000: through new mains, two Worthington pumps would be able to deliver 400,000 gallons an hour each. New Orleans put in a telegraph fire-alarm system, which would get equipment on the job in considerably less than the one hour under the old system, as the *Picayune* reported January 4, 1852; and the city saw new potentials in such equipment as the self-propelling steam fire engine which the newspaper described on February 7, 1861.

Intellectually and artistically, it was a glorious decade. Three sons of Louisiana reached new distinctions. The second two volumes of Jean Jacques Audubon's *Quadrupeds of America* appeared in 1851 and 1854. The first volume had appeared in 1846; and before, *Birds of America* and *Habits of Birds in the United States*. Charles Étienne Arthur Gayarré published *Louisiana, Its Colonial History and Romance* in 1851, *Louisiana as a French Colony* in 1852, and *History of Louisiana* in 1854. Louis Moreau Gottschalk, a virtuoso at sixteen, was publicly presented with a massive gold medal after a series of piano recitals in New Orleans in 1853. Twenty-one-year-old Paul Morphy in 1858 began the invasion of Europe which won for him the title of the world's greatest chess player.

In 1856 William Makepeace Thackeray lectured in New Orleans, a brilliant appearance which won editorial comment from the *Daily Picayune* on March 7.

That same year Louisiana's first Episcopal bishop, Leonidas Polk, launched a movement to establish the University of the South. The *Daily Picayune* enthusiastically supported him, for with "few exceptions . . . even the elemental and preparatory branches of education are very indifferently provided for in the South," it said on August 10, 1856; and besides, Northern universities were no place for Southern youth, since they fostered "sectional issues between the North and the South," it pointed out, September 12, 1857. After \$340,000 of the \$500,000 considered necessary by the bishop had been subscribed, a massive cornerstone was laid, with impressive ceremonies, at Sewanee, Tennessee, on October 10, 1860;¹⁹ but war delayed the beginning of the educational effort until 1868, when nine students were enrolled for instruction.

Jenny Lind gave her first concert in New Orleans and her fifty-fourth in the United States, at the St. Charles theater on February 10, 1851. It was a \$20,000 house. Her artistic reception was no less enthusiastic than her physical greeting when her ship tied up at the Jackson Square wharf three days before, and subterfuge was necessary to get her through the mob to her apartments in the upper Pontalba building. To the "ravishing sweetness and inconceivable compass" of her voice, the *Daily Picayune* bore testimony. The city's delirium increased with each of her thirteen concerts. New Orleans listened tolerantly to her impresario, P. T. Barnum, when he gave a lecture on temperance on March 6, not sparing even the "liquors mixed in pies and puddings." When she left, souvenir-hunters paid \$3060.50 for the furnishings of her twelve-room apart-

¹⁹ In Louisiana had been planted, in the medical school of 1834, the seed from which grew Tulane University; and the academic department had been grafted upon the struggling growth, in the University of Louisiana, in 1851, four years after the incorporation, but the first class would not be graduated until 1889. Louisiana State Seminary of Learning, the forerunner of Louisiana State University, would not open until January 2, 1860, and then only for a short time, because professors and students marched to war.

ment at the auction of March 18; and Placide's Varieties brought out a farce entitled *Jenny Lind*.

Adah Isaacs Menken, born at Milneburg, on the lakefront near New Orleans, began at that same theater, in 1857, the dramatic career which carried her to world acclaim before her death eleven years later.

New Orleans on April 22, 1859, began its temple to lyric drama, and on December 1 of that same year opened its Opera House at Bourbon and Toulouse streets.²⁰ This underscored its claim to being the musical capital of America, a city where love and appreciation of music were a distinguishing characteristic of the people, as the *Daily Picayune* said on December 3, 1860. Admission was 50 cents to \$1.50.

Adelina Patti, not yet eighteen years old, opened there on December 19, 1860, in *Lucia*. Seven years before, she had delighted the city on her concert tour with Ole Bull—an "astonishing child," said the *Daily Picayune* on February 27, 1853, and predicted a brilliant future for her. *Lucia* immediately enshrined her in the hearts of New Orleanians. Her voice was of "singular sweetness, purity, capacity of volume and range of register," ran the *Daily Picayune's* critique of December 20. She was engaged for six appearances but stretched her stay to three months. She had made her debut in 1859 in New York, and had carried the East by storm; but it was her enthusiastic acceptance by discriminating New Orleans that secured her first engagement in London and launched her upon the greatest—as it was the longest—career that any prima donna has achieved.

The *Daily Picayune* reflected the growth of this period. On October 16, 1851, it adopted a new title-line vignette—showing a pelican on her nest against a background of sugar cane, cotton, and harbor activity, and carrying the motto "Union, Justice and Confidence." The paper became the official journal of New Or-

²⁰ Destroyed by fire, December 4, 1919.

leans on May 11, 1854, a tribute to its increasing influence, as was the awarding of the post-office contract, year after year, for printing the list of uncalled-for letters, which regulations required to be advertised in the newspaper with the largest proved circulation. A rival, the *Delta*, unsuccessfully challenged its power in a circulation war, and was suspected by the *Picayune* on March 14, 1855, of forging a *Picayune* Extra dated January 25, 1855, "For Circulation in California, Oregon and the South Islands," containing preposterous accounts of the storming of Sebastopol, the revolt of Poland, warlike eventuations in Austria, England, and France, an insult to the American minister at Madrid, and a collapse of the markets. Denis Corcoran, one of the *Delta's* proprietors, retaliated in 1856 with the charge that Lumsden instigated an assault on him. Corcoran had been a reporter on the *Daily Picayune*, and was author of a book, *Pickings from the Portfolio of a Police Court Reporter*. After a sensational trial, it was proved that Lumsden not only had no part in the attack but under the conditions could not have been involved.

Lumsden was elected to the state Legislature in 1851, on the Whig ticket, the second staff man to be so honored. Bullitt, in 1846, was the other. In both cases, their newspaper gave the fact only passing mention.

Lumsden, by then, had retired from the active management of the paper, which he turned over to Holbrook. He spent much of his time traveling and sent back occasional letters for publication. He was the first staff man of the *Daily Picayune* to cover a national political convention, the Democratic, of 1852, in Baltimore.

He was drowned, with his wife, son, and adopted daughter, September 7, 1860, when the "Elgin," on which they were making a trip on the Great Lakes, sank, after collision; he was buried, after one of the largest funerals the city had ever seen, in the Girod street cemetery. The Masonic and Odd Fellows organizations, the Typographical Union, several military companies, and hun-

dreds of public men and private citizens accompanied the remains from the former home at 70 North Rampart street—old number—on this last journey. The Continental Guards fired a salute.

Samuel F. Wilson became a partner in 1855. The *Daily Picayune* made the formal announcement on June 1, and the masthead that day carried his name for the first time. He was a brilliant man, native of Connecticut, honor graduate of Columbia College, attorney in Baltimore, author of a history of the United States, close friend of the day's leading political figures. He went to New Orleans in 1849, worked on the *Crescent*, and joined the *Daily Picayune* the next year.

Though the *Daily Picayune* had a regular correspondent, "Gamma,"²¹ in Paris, Kendall continued to send in a steady stream of comment on the European scene, between his frequent visits to the United States. His series beginning in February, 1852, with the description of Louis Napoleon's rise to power upon a French shambles, throws revealing sidelights upon history's drama. His heart was in Texas, to which he moved in 1856, and began the development of a sheep ranch. He became one of the great figures of that state, who could have had the governorship, had he been willing to accept it, and his memory is honored by a county named after him, and a monument. His letter in the *Picayune* of May 22 began a new correspondence series which continued until the War Between the States.

The *Daily Picayune* dropped the names of the editors and proprietors from the masthead, October 25, 1857, but restored them on November 13, 1860, after Lumsden's death, when "Kendall, Holbrook and Company" became the new title of the publishing firm.

Because of an accumulation of news the newspaper violated its rule against Monday morning publication twice—on May 7 and

²¹ "Gamma" was Dr. John D. Osborn of Virginia, resident of the Latin Quarter of Paris for thirty years, according to an editorial, March 1, 1864, in which the *Daily Picayune* referred to his death.

November 12, 1855. On November 25 of that year, it went to eight pages daily: up to then, eight had been Sunday's maximum.

To meet the increasing demands the *Daily Picayune* bought a \$15,000 Hoe press, on which the type was placed on a revolving cylinder and four men fed four sheets at a time. The rated capacity was 10,000 impressions an hour. This marvel of printing efficiency went into operation on November 30, 1856. One of the eight news cuts which the *Daily Picayune* printed in the 1850-60 decade shows it in operation.

Twelve-page issues became common, which made it difficult for carriers to slip the paper under doors. There was editorial appeal, November 27, 1859, that subscribers provide safe places for delivery. The first sixteen-page paper appeared December 25 of that year.

Advertising crowded the columns. The first three-column advertisement appeared October 12, 1856; the first half-page November 22 of that year—105 identical seven-line announcements, separated by column rules and cutoffs; the first full-page January 9, 1859—seven columns of body type, in news style, devoted to the claims of Dr. Silas T. Gilbert, who treated ulcers and tumors without surgery.

But the advertising sections still had the appearance of today's classified department—body type captioned by blackface of the same size or the equivalent of twelve or fourteen point. They were dull reading, for the most part, occasionally illuminated by such ingratiating presentments as the poetical claims about Jones's Italian Chemical Soap, to be sung to the tune of "I Dreamt That I Dwelt in Marble Halls" in 1851, and the metrical series in 1859 devoted to rough-on-rats.

Three states entered the Union during the decade—California in 1850, Minnesota in 1858, and Oregon in 1859; and the census of 1860 put the national population at 31,443,321. Louisiana erected Winn parish in 1852, with a population of 6878 in 1860, and increased its population to 708,002. New Orleans, grown to 168,675,

began to experience metropolitan problems, to which the *Daily Picayune* called attention when, on August 28, 1858, it observed that "Great cities are beginning to be plague centers in the social system." It had already commented, May 22, 1853, on the increase of crime; pointed out, October 21, 1853, the necessity for conspicuously marking the streets; and demanded, October 25, 1853, better safeguards against the mounting traffic hazards, for drays were paying no attention to the law which limited their speed to a slow trot on a straightaway, and required them to turn corners at a walk.

In the 1859-60 season the South produced the largest cotton crop on record to that time, 4,650,000 bales, nearly half of which, 2,214,315 bales, moved through New Orleans. The price of middling during the year was 10 to 11 cents a pound. Europe was taking an increasing volume of cottonseed, because of its oil content. Louisiana rolled out 221,840 hogsheads of sugar—which was below the twenty-year average, but the price was high, 6 to 9½ cents a pound. New Orleans' imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1860, totaled \$22,920,849, an increase of \$18,349,516 over the year before, according to the *Daily Picayune* of September 1; its exports \$108,293,567, an increase of \$6,658,615. The *Daily Picayune*, in the busy season, carried about five columns of ship and four columns of steamboat advertisements; twenty to thirty steamboats a day cleared from New Orleans.

Secession

INSTEAD OF allaying the storm of sectionalism, the Compromise of 1850 intensified it. It did not satisfy either the North or the South; both believed they had not gained enough to compensate for their sacrifices of principle; each believed it left the other too powerful. Moreover, in the bitter debate which preceded adoption, men had said things which could not be forgotten or forgiven.

The rip tide of that storm was the tariff, so unfavorable to the agricultural South, which had moved South Carolina to Nullification in 1832; but the driving wind was the slavery agitation from the North.

One of the Compromise provisions was Federal enforcement of the fugitive slave law. Up to then, the return of run-aways to their owners had been the responsibility of local authorities, who acted or declined to act according to the sentiment of their communities. Now the Federal power was thrown behind all such claims, upon presentation of an unsupported affidavit. Negroes who had been living for years in the North, some of them legally free, were suddenly snatched into slavery by the long arm of the government.

Antislavery organizations and anti-South newspapers trumpeted their rage. Published in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became a best seller and was almost immediately dramatized. It put new animus behind the North, and created a furore

in Europe. "Gross misrepresentation" and "abominable libel" though it was, in the words of the *Daily Picayune*, it expressed outside belief about slavery, and belief may be stronger than fact. J. Thornton Randolph's *Cabin and the Parlor*, which later in the year presented an undistorted picture of the South, fell flat. The *Daily Picayune* implied, July 22, 1853, some vindication for the South in Queen Victoria's refusal—for political reasons—to receive Mrs. Stowe at court. Abuse of the South became more intense—its mode of life, its institutions, its patriotism, even its contributions to the success of the Revolution.¹ Congress became a sounding board for sectional bitterness, which reached a climax in the bitter denunciation by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts on May 19 and 20, 1856, and his caning by Representative Preston Smith Brooks of South Carolina in the Senate chamber a few days later.

Northern newspapers reported "that a general insurrection against the [fugitive slave] laws is ready to break out," according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 7, 1850. Enforcement precipitated furious riots. Political leaders openly encouraged resistance.

There was no possibility of the issue dying. Every fugitive slave arrest brought it to the front; every growth to statehood revived and sharpened the bitterness; the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, Cuba's struggle against Spain, the movement for the purchase of the island, the proposals to extend this nation's power over Mexico, which seemed to be disintegrating, even the filibustering expeditions to Latin America implied the extension of slave ter-

¹ Stung by the biased writings of Northern historians and the distorted assertions of Northern agitators, the *Daily Picayune*, July 26, 1856, reminded its readers "that the fires of the Revolution were kindled on Southern altars as brightly and nurtured as faithfully as they were in New England—that the Stamp Act was resisted there with the same determined courage—that the tea duty met with as sturdy an opposition, and that a cargo of tea was seized in Charleston and the sale prevented, before the Boston people threw theirs into the harbor—that the Declaration of Independence originated and was proclaimed in North Carolina before the people elsewhere had advanced to that consummation of hostility to tyranny; and that more and bloodier battles were fought and won in slave-holding states—battles that saved states from the enemy and won independence by the sword—than in the states whose representatives now insult the South as recreants in that war."

ritory, as the *Daily Picayune* said. The voiding of the Missouri Compromise by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 aroused the North to new resistance; the Dred Scott decision by which the Supreme Court, two days after Buchanan's inauguration, declared laws prohibiting slavery to be unconstitutional, unleashed new passions. Kansas put the issue to the test of blood, and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry, October 17, 1859, carried the battle to the nation.

To the growing sectionalism the presidential vote bore testimony. In 1840 the antislavery party was able to poll only 7509 ballots; in 1848 it counted 291,863; in 1856 it rolled up 1,340,264; in 1860 it won with 1,866,452 voters who interpreted Abraham Lincoln's "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free" as an ultimatum.

Buttressed by the Constitution, which permitted slavery, the South saw in the North's resistance to the law a determination to ruin the nation if it could not rule the South. But if the North lit the fires of disunionism, it was South Carolina which spread them in the South. For ten years, the *Daily Picayune* struggled to extinguish them.

South Carolina, the only state in which the presidential electors were not chosen by the people, represented the extreme thought on states rights, the principle under which it had been possible to form the Union. It refused to bend to new interpretations introduced by changing opinion and changing conditions. It hewed to the definition by its distinguished son, John C. Calhoun, in 1828, that the "United States is not a union of the people but a league or compact between sovereign states, any of which has the right to judge when the compact is broken and to pronounce any law to be null and void which violates its conditions." Senator Calhoun, on March 4, 1850, repudiated the Compromise.

He will find "few supporters in the South,"² predicted the *Daily*

² Of Calhoun's statesmanship, the *Daily Picayune* said, February 7, 1851: "The plague of his latter years was a distrust of the sincerity of the Northern states in their support of any measure of compromise and peace."

Picayune. "The Union—It Must be Preserved," read the caption of its editorial March 3—the same doctrine which Daniel Webster enunciated later in the year, and which Andrew Jackson had proclaimed twenty years before when, on April 13, 1830, he answered Calhoun's challenge with "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved."

A Union meeting which filled the St. Charles theater on the night of November 27, 1850, repudiated Pierre Soulé, Louisiana senator who held with Calhoun—"a bitter, arrogant and intolerant man," said the *Daily Picayune* of Soulé, September 19, 1851. The movement to erect the Henry Clay statue began as a desire to raise a monument to the Union, which the Great Conciliator had done so much to preserve, as that newspaper stated June 21, 1851.

When South Carolina's hostility to the Compromise hardened into an effort to break the South out of the Union and erect it into a Confederacy, the *Daily Picayune* characterized it, December 27, 1850, as "the ambitious dream of a number of political aspirants." To that charge it frequently returned.³ But here and there the spark lit fires which spread.

To the mounting bitterness and increasing pressures brought against it, as "demagogic" urgings became more intemperate, the *Daily Picayune* gave not one inch of ground. On the eve of a meeting of free-state delegates in Philadelphia to demand a return to the principles of the Missouri Compromise, it appealed, June 22, 1855, to the "courage and constancy of all sound Union men in all parts of the country"; when a South Carolina jury released the crew of the "Echo," caught in the illegal slave trade, it denounced, April 30, 1859, the verdict as "countenancing . . . a denial of the obligations to support the laws"; it deprecated, December 10, 1859, the nonintercourse proposals as a "hostile" move against the North; it denied, October 31, 1860, the doctrine of peaceful secession, "another name for revolution"; it predicted, November 1, 1860, that

³ For instance, February 1, 1851, ". . . arrogant motives and selfish calculations"; October 8, 1856, "demagogues" who were trying to destroy the Union; and November 2, 1860, "the politicians and demagogues of the hour."

nothing could be "more dangerous" than secession "to the liberty of the individual."

On the rights of the South it was just as insistent. On January 19, 1858, it refused to debate the question of extinguishing slavery; on September 2, 1859, it saw no reason why an institution recognized by the Constitution should be an issue, and believed the South could eliminate it by ignoring the agitation. If slavery was profitable in the South,⁴ labor at least "has the protection of capital," in lean times and—pointing to the unemployment in free territory—"We seriously question whether the slavery of the South is not comfort in comparison with the slavery of poverty in the North," it said on January 26, 1859.

To the last, the *Daily Picayune* took a hopeful view. In the Kansas reports it saw, January 30, 1855, exaggeration on both sides; of the Harpers Ferry outrage it said, November 3, 1859, "the cause of the South, within the Union, has received great moral strength by the explosion of this imbecile plot"; it admitted, May 20, 1860, that Lincoln's nomination was a threat to the South but asked, October 4, 1860, "Are we prepared to disown allegiance to a government whose ministrations hitherto have been followed only by a series of uninterrupted blessings because at some future time an act may be committed hostile to the spirit of the Constitution?" When Governor Thomas O. Moore published a letter calling for an expression of opinion by the people on what should be Louisiana's course of action if Lincoln were elected, it charged, October 17, 1860, that his purpose was "to exasperate the public feeling, to widen the gulf that politically divides our people, and to bring about the calamity he so much deplores."

The *Daily Picayune* knew how great were the odds against the South. It printed the population figures which showed where the preponderant manpower lay. Its editorials urging the South to industrial effort exposed the weakness of a section which depended

⁴ On August 12, 1858, the *Daily Picayune* printed figures showing that in the sugar parish of St. Mary, each slave netted his master a profit of \$175 a year, nearly 33 per cent of his assessed value.

on imports for nearly every need except food. The South "must cease to be a consumer of Northern products before it is prepared to struggle for independent existence," it said on October 17, 1860.

"Where our state finally goes, we are prepared to go," said the *Daily Picayune* on December 8, 1860; "but until she acts, we should labor to show all the difficulties, all the dangers, of following mere impulses instead of being guided by great principles."

Many men were making the same decision during that memorable year, when passions ran with the heat of the blinding, stifling summer; conscientious, patriotic men who loved their America, to whom any break in the current of national life was repugnant, but whose loyalty kept them with their neighbors and communities, even when they believed that an unreasoning and unwilling action had been stampeded by demagogues and schemers; and once in, they would give of their utmost, scorning the odds, with a devotion which has few parallels in history.

Strife divided the Democratic party, and this made it possible for the Republicans to elect Lincoln, November 6, 1860, in a four-cornered race, by a sectional vote which totaled less than 40 per cent of the national ballot.⁵

South Carolina seceded on December 20. "For ten years she has waited for the occasion," said the *Daily Picayune* the next day. "Nominally with the Union, she has not been heartily attached to it."

Other states followed—Mississippi on January 9, 1861, Florida on January 10, Alabama on January 11, Georgia on January 18.

"This calls at once for war preparations and war measures," said the *Daily Picayune* on January 6, when it reported the seizure of the United States arsenal at Mount Vernon and of Fort Morgan near Mobile.

Louisiana seized the Federal forts, offices, mint and the national funds totaling \$389,000 in silver bullion within its borders, and

⁵ Total vote, 4,682,069. Lincoln received 1,866,452; Douglas, 1,376,957; and Breckinridge and Bell divided 1,438,660.

nearly two weeks later, its state convention met in Baton Rouge, January 23, to decide what action should be taken regarding the Union.

Any lingering doubt of what it would be disappeared when the chairman, Former Governor Alexander Mouton, launched the fiery addresses of J. L. Manning and J. A. Winston, ex-governors of South Carolina and Alabama, respectively. By a vote of 113 to 17, the convention passed an ordinance of secession on January 26. The pelican flag was dramatically unfurled and the assembly shouted itself hoarse.

Reassembling in New Orleans, the convention on January 30 elected six delegates to represent the state at the general convention called for February 4, in Montgomery. The next day, the *Daily Picayune* reported that there would be an "early attack on Fort Sumter" in Charleston harbor, one of the few strongholds in the South still under Federal authority.⁶

Texas joined the secession movement on February 1, and four other states entered, once battle had been joined—Virginia on April 17, Arkansas on May 6, North Carolina on May 20, and Tennessee on June 8.

On February 11, Louisiana raised its new flag, adopted by the convention. An enormous throng gathered in Lafayette Square to witness the ceremony, at which the state paraded its military strength. It was the climax of that gay season, which had begun with the exhibition of the hippopotamus, "the greatest curiosity ever exhibited in this city," according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 4, 1860, and reached its glory in Patti's singing. The theaters were filled—the St. Charles, the Varieties, and the Academy of Music, to say nothing of Dan Rice's show and Vannuchi's Museum. Exceptionally brilliant was the Mardi Gras of February 12. Twenty-one guns saluted the new emblem—four blue, six white,

⁶ The others were Forts Monroe on Chesapeake bay, and Pickens at Pensacola, and the fortifications near Key West. Major Robert Anderson, the commandant of Sumter, was at the time buying supplies for the garrison in the Charleston markets.

and three red stripes against a red field containing a yellow star—as it rose to the top of the staff. With increased devotion, New Orleans celebrated George Washington's birthday.

On February 14, the *Daily Picayune* reported the first arrest, for expressing a dissident opinion, under the convenient and opprobrious charge of "abolitionism." But that newspaper continued to speak out.

It demanded that the convention publish the vote of the people, on which it was supposed to have based its action. Such a vote had been taken, but no announcement had been made after the *Daily Picayune* printed, January 11, the New Orleans results, 4358 in favor of state action, and 3978 in favor of United Southern action. "The duty of publishing the returns for public information has been shamefully evaded," said that newspaper on February 17. It was heavily attacked but did not yield.

Meanwhile, forty-three representatives of the seceded states had met in Montgomery. On the same day—February 4—commissioners from slave and free states met in Washington to repair, if possible, the break. That gathering sat until February 26, and accomplished nothing. The Montgomery convention elected Jefferson Davis, who had been senator from Mississippi, to be provisional president of the Southern Confederacy, adopted a Constitution, March 11, and adjourned March 26.

One final effort the *Daily Picayune* made. Citing the democratic principle that "all governments should be based upon the consent of the governed," it demanded, March 16, that the adoption or rejection of that Constitution be submitted to the vote of the people. By overwhelming vote, the state convention refused, and on March 21, itself made the decision.⁷ Of all the Southern states, only Vir-

⁷ Louisiana advanced into the Confederacy by three illegal and revolutionary steps, points out Roger W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*; . . . (University, La., 1939), 161-68. They were: Legislative call, at Governor Moore's demand, for a convention to divorce Louisiana from the Union without submitting the question of a convention to popular referendum, as required by the Constitution of 1852; the convention's refusal to take a plebiscite on the Ordinance of Secession; and the convention's

ginia and Texas put the issue to popular vote. The Union had been formed by convention action, it was broken in the same way. Perhaps the popular vote would have been the same as the convention, so violent was the obsession of the time. But this was a step backwards in democratic principle. "It was a fearful responsibility they have assumed," said the *Daily Picayune* on March 19, "and one which carries with it the obligation to see that the state receive no harm from the compact which they are about to adopt, for they have disarmed her of the right to see to it herself."

The South girded for battle. It was better prepared than the North, at first, because of the seizure of the Federal arsenals, and because its determination was more sharply defined than the North's. But the odds were 5,500,000 whites against 22,000,000. Its material resources were almost nothing against a vast and increasing supply.

Louisiana put its troops in motion. One year before, its military establishment had been 91,179 men and officers, in 669 companies, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 17, 1860, but it had been growing steadily, since the Legislature's appropriation, in December, of \$500,000 for expansion.

Four companies of Zouaves under Major Waldemar Hyllested sailed from New Orleans for Pensacola on March 29; and were followed, April 11, by the First Louisiana Regulars under Colonel A. H. Gladden, and the Orleans Cadets under Captain Charles D. Dreaux; and on April 19 and 20, by the Caddo Grays, later attached to the First Regiment, and the Crescent Rifles and Louisiana Guards, soon to be consolidated with the Orleans Cadets.

uniting Louisiana with the Confederacy, its approval of the Confederacy's Constitution, and its election of representatives to the first Congress in Montgomery, without any mandate from the people. During the two months of Louisiana's solitary independence, the convention usurped the powers of the General Assembly and became the ruling legislative body of the state.

Sumter

GENERAL P. G. T. BEAUREGARD of New Orleans, opened fire on Fort Sumter at 4:30 A.M. Friday, April 12, 1861, and touched off the war—twenty-three Northern states with a population of 22,000,000, and a preponderance of the manufacturing, financing, and shipping facilities of the country, against eleven Southern states with a population of 9,000,000, of which more than a third were Negro slaves, and depending on imports for most of the necessities of life, with the exception of food.

The *Daily Picayune* exploded the news in two columns of telegraph in that afternoon's edition "Published Precisely at Two O'Clock."

Breathlessly, the people of the city followed the spectacular thirty-two-hour bombardment which knocked the fortification to pieces and dismounted its guns, without killing a single man in the garrison of eighty, while a Union fleet in vain struggled against hostile weather to carry relief into Charleston harbor. Not since the Mexican War had there been such a rush for newspapers. The "four cylinder press" of the *Daily Picayune* could not keep up with the demand of the news-hungry who "besieged" the office.

"We are no longer of that people, but we remember what they were in days when it was a pride and a joy to rally under the same old flag," said that newspaper in an editorial of April 14, defining the issue. The same thought actuated the celebration of that Fourth

of July in New Orleans "with a more universal observance and by a deeper manifestation of feeling than we ever remember to have seen before, bringing back to memory, with all its freshness, the glorious day of 1776." A salute of thirteen guns was fired in honor of the original states, and of eleven for the states of the Confederacy. "Our Second War of Independence," became a standing headline in the *Daily Picayune*.¹

The fifteen-foot stalk of corn, bearing a dozen well-filled ears, which the paper reported on June 17, was a symbol of the South's lush production. "There is no danger of famine stalking through our land at this rate." The cotton fields had yielded the year before the heaviest crop on record—more than four and a half million bales. Louisiana's sugar had brought \$25,000,000, its cotton \$30,000,000; New Orleans, with \$20,251,000 of paid-in capital in its eleven banks, had pushed its trade movement—imports, exports, and domestic receipts—to the incredible total of \$324,000,000.

New Orleans led the nation in per capita wealth. The population had left the 168,675 of the 1860 census far behind. More and more acidulous were becoming the *Daily Picayune's* comments on the carelessness which, from time to time, left certain sections unilluminated by the oil and gas street lights. The city had already occupied so much territory that the problem of giving it a uniform time stimulated Dr. Bonzano, superintendent of the mint, Achille Hébert, superintendent of the Fire Alarm and Police Telegraph, and Mr. Fournier, a watchmaker, to invent an electric clock. It was operated by an electrical impulse sent every thirty seconds from a central station to an armature and magnet, the *Daily Picayune* informed its readers on June 3; and the time was regulated, from day to day, by "celestial observation."² Nearly one fourth of the news-

¹ Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *America in Midpassage* (New York, 1939), 655, refer to the War Between the States as "the Second Revolution."

² Alvan Fischer of the Warren Telechron Company, Ashland, Massachusetts, in a memorandum dated March 22, 1939, to the General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York, said: "The first known application of electricity to clocks is that attributed to Alexander Bain, an Englishman who in 1840 obtained a British patent for an electric

paper's twenty-eight columns of advertising pertained to steamship, steamboat, and railroad movements. To the booming values of real estate, prices of \$1000 a foot in Chartres street bore testimony. There was a tremendous building campaign.

A new waterworks was nearing completion—a "massive iron structure," at the head of Canal street, 34 by 42 feet and 30 feet high, with a reservoir capacity of 175,000 gallons, assuring the city "an abundance of water for all purposes, as well as the establishment of public baths."

The *Daily Picayune*, in its issues of June 9 and July 21 reported the \$250,000 Moresque building on the site now occupied by the *Times-Picayune* and Pan-American buildings, a three-story structure 180 feet square, containing six stories and an arched hall 80 by 170 feet and 40 feet high; Paul Tulane's \$50,000 double building in lower Camp street, six stories with a roof of block tin; the Touro Alms House in the Third District, 350 by 600 feet, containing a large manufacturing space besides accommodations for the poor; two three-story structures in Gravier street near Carondelet, \$25,000; a Catholic church on Craps street near Love, \$35,000; the three-story Jefferson Davis public school on St. Philip street between Royal and Bourbon, \$32,500; the \$18,000 homes of Dr. D. W. Brickell on Carondelet street between Girod and Julia, and of Sheriff E. T. Parker on St. Joseph street between St. Charles and Carondelet; and the \$14,000 double brick house of Captain R. C. McConnell on Carondelet street near Felicity Road.

Six streetcar lines, horse- and mule-drawn, were almost finished,

clock system. This system consisted primarily of a weight-driven, pendulum-controlled clock which had a small finger mounted upon the pendulum rod. As the pendulum swung back and forth, this finger rubbed against a block of insulating material bisected with a band of metal. Thus a contact was made once a second with the pendulum rod acting as a part of the electric circuit. The contact caused an electrical impulse to be imparted to a number of clock mechanisms which were connected in series with a battery. Bain's idea of an electric clock system is substantially the same as is in existence today in that type of clock system wherein the hands of a number of secondary clock dials jump ahead a minute at a time in response to an impulse afforded by a master control clock in the system."

and the first actually went into operation on June 1, the promised date, and astonished the people by a speed of six miles an hour. In its issue of April 21, the *Daily Picayune* listed this "network of roads" as the Magazine, Camp, and Prytania; Canal and Metairie Ridge; Rampart and Esplanade; Rampart and Poland; and Rampart, Esplanade, and Barracks lines. Seating eighteen persons, the cars were "large and roomy, elegant and commodious, being eight feet wide," as the *Daily Picayune* reported on June 1, "and affording plenty of room to the fairest portion of creation for their crinoline." Eight of the hundred cars ordered had already been received.

Omnibus and steam lines cut their fares to meet the five-cents competition, and there was great joy. But progress brought its problems. Several boys fell under the wheels and were bloodily mangled; by June 9, the *Daily Picayune* was calling for a law forbidding anyone to get on or off while the car was in motion, and requiring that the mules be belled to warn of danger's approach. And gallant men began to complain, in print, that the ladies to whom they surrendered their seats did not thank them by word or smile. "Even men should have their rights," lamented one victim in the *Daily Picayune* on July 16, and demanded a law that would forbid drivers to stop, when the cars were full, to admit "unreasonable ladies . . . followed, as they often are, by crowds of children . . . with their staff of nurses."

It was a happy, pleasure-loving city. Late though the season was, some of the theaters were still open, their prices ranging from 25 cents to \$1.50, depending on the house and the seat. From the *Daily Picayune* of April 13, we learn that the Opera House at Bourbon and Toulouse streets was presenting *Rigoletto*; the Academy of Music, adjoining the St. Charles on St. Charles street, a "wizard" with a "magic piano," and a "charming balladist" to soothe the perplexities he might raise; the Varieties theater on Gravier street near Carondelet, the comedy *John Bull* and the unclassified *Maid of Munster*; the Magnolia Concert Hall at Perdido and Baronne streets, a group of songs, dances, pantomimes, and farces; Vannu-

chi's Museum at 107 St. Charles street, "nearly opposite the St. Charles theater," a Scotch giantess who claimed 675 pounds, and tableaux of the Birth of Christ, Crimean Heroes, and similar subjects.

Soon Mme Caprell would offer her "extraordinary revelations" to those who, under the stress of wartime curiosity, might wish to peer into the future; and her skill with "all invisible diseases," to those more interested in immediate afflictions.

As the weather began to warm up, more and more persons took "their *otium cum dignitate*," in the *Daily Picayune's* esoteric phrase, at the hotel resorts on Lake Pontchartrain; in the Carrollton Gardens; in "the oak forest of the City Park"; and in the New Southern Confederate Garden in Algiers, near the Canal street ferry landing, with its promise of liquor and dancing, and diversion for the children—men admitted for twenty-five cents, no charge for women, who, however, were denied entrance if unescorted. On the Shell and Gentilly roads, the carriages of the well-to-do were colorful processions. Those unable to seek relief further afield went to the French Market "to snuff the river breeze"; and to the public parks, especially Jackson Square, glorious with "shrubbery and flowers," and gay with "beautifully dressed little girls attended by their slave nurses." Against the mad-dog menace, the police sowed the streets with poisoned sausages. There was some anxiety about the city's supply of ice, imported from the North; but New Orleans' favorite newspaper gave assurance, June 29, that stocks on hand were large enough "to carry us clear through next winter and start another summer on."

With high hearts and gay, New Orleans and Louisiana threw themselves into war work. Beauregard became the hero of the hour; soon, a march, named in his honor, was on the music stands, and an enterprising "daguerreotypist and photographer" placed on sale pictures of the general. Four days after the first shell burst upon Sumter, the Citizens' Bank opened subscriptions for a \$5,000,000 Confederate loan; before another week passed, the "flower of

the free colored population of New Orleans" met to offer its services, the leading citizens organized to drive out "all suspicious characters and sympathizers with the Black Republican party," and the "fairest and most patriotic of the mothers, wives and daughters" of New Orleans began to organize benefits for volunteers and their families. There was such a rush to join the colors that the first requisition for 3000 men was almost immediately filled, and the adjutant general of the state militia called for 5000 more. "Like your brave ancestry, resolve to conquer or perish in the effort, and the flag of usurpation will never fly over Southern soil"—one catches the spirit of the times from his words. The *Daily Picayune* proudly chronicled the movements of the "handsome and stalwart companies" which arrived from the country or organized in the city; and when Miss Leona Neville, "a noble spirited young lady," volunteered to serve the Monroe Rifles as vivandière, that organization made of her reception a gala social event. The *Daily Picayune* of May 19 tells us that the men, brushed and polished, welcomed her, after the formal ceremonies, "with all the deference and respect which careful, soldierly training can instill into the military man." It also assures us that "her nicely fitting alpaca uniform is extremely becoming."

War work in the early days was a gay and romantic adventure, and even the grim job of raising relief funds evoked the dress-maker's best art. Said the *Daily Picayune* on April 27:

"We were attracted yesterday by the appearance of a lovely little fairy-like form on Canal street who was selling tickets to the fair at Odd Fellows' Hall. She was dressed in a white satin bodice and blue tarleton skirt and sash trimmed with spangles, and wore a pretty straw hat trimmed with black velvet, a white feather and flowers, and white silk hose and kid slippers."

By May 1 the *Daily Picayune* was printing a column and a half of military advertisements, from one to three inches long, announcing the organization of corps, the election of officers, and the particular needs of some that were ready to march—for instance, the

Orleans Cadets lacked a drummer boy. Volunteers were informed that they might outfit themselves "at the sign of the big shirt, No. 13 Chartres street."

On May 12 the *Daily Picayune* printed an appeal that commercial houses close at 6 P.M., that their employees might discharge their drilling duties in time to get the proper amount of sleep; and on May 25, announced that the Canal street stores had agreed to do so, "and we presume that Chartres and Camp streets will follow the fashion."

At Canal and Baronne streets was a factory which made rough plantation clothing. It changed over to uniforms, and raised its working personnel to 130, according to the *Daily Picayune* of June 16. A machinery factory at the head of Canal street began to make Enfield rifles; and various iron-working plants cast cannon.

Instead of farm products and merchandise, the river front was piled high with military supplies. Companies of soldiers, arriving or departing, filled the city with their tramping. Drums beat, fifes shrilled. "Fewer ladies have never before been seen on our fashionable boulevards," noted the *Daily Picayune* on May 6. They were busy preparing their men for war; working in the relief organizations, "and thus have no time for fashionable displays on our streets."

In that blazing excitement the river-front fire of the night before was a dim candle. Eight steamboats, moored along the west bank between Algiers and Gretna, burned before the alarm was given in the city. One broke away and drove across the river, a huge torch, setting fire to ocean and river craft and a tobacco warehouse. Soldiers billeted near-by conquered the flames which for a time threatened the city itself.

The law bowed to the spirit of the times. When Jane Weaver stabbed Thomas G. McCarty, a member of the Orleans Southrons, and was arrested, the young man asked that the case be dismissed because his unit might be ordered to the front any day, and "I think it more patriotic to defend the state against a horde of Northern

fanatics than to remain behind my company to prosecute in a civil suit." So did the recorder, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on April 28. Perhaps it was the same recorder who dismissed a man charged with picking pockets because he was a member of a military organization. The law also bowed to the preference of those betrayed into minor crime by the heavy drinking that was almost *de rigueur* then, to serve in the army rather than do time—and the city saved 12 to 37 cents a day, the respective costs of maintenance in workhouse and prison, according to the *Daily Picayune*, July 13. But there must be no violent appeal to anyone's patriotism, however backward! The *Daily Picayune*, on June 30, shook an editorial finger at the mob which sought to evoke the martial ardor of one man by a coat of tar and cotton.

By June 9 that newspaper was able to report Louisiana had put into the field 3000 regulars and 10,000 volunteers. This was 5000 more than the state had been asked to raise. New Orleans contributed more than half of the total, and within another month, sent 2000 more after them.

Probably the high point in that period of preparation was the entraining of the Washington Artillery on May 27 for Virginia, where Northern invaders were concentrating. For many years that corps had been dear to the heart of New Orleans: its tiger-head challenge "Try Us" carried the spirit of city and state to the front.

"New Orleans has never seen a more brilliant and enthusiastic ovation paid by, we may without exaggeration say, the entire mass of her population," said the *Daily Picayune* in next morning's half-column story.

A chilling omen was the death of two members of the unit from drinking ice water, while overheated, at the height of the ovation. So many rumors sped through the city that to allay anxiety, the *Daily Picayune* telegraphed to Kenner, Louisiana, a dozen miles away, and printed in the afternoon edition the reassuring news that everybody was in perfect health.

The journey to Richmond took nearly nine days. At that time,

the Illinois Central advertised a time schedule of three days and six hours between New Orleans and New York, via the Cairo connections; the movement of a troop train would obviously be slower. Entering the last phase of its training, the Washington Artillery was so alert that the president of the Confederacy was refused admission to the camp because the sentries did not recognize him, as the *Daily Picayune* gaily reported on June 22. And so this proud organization tempered itself to the sixty major engagements of the next four years.

When the war broke out, the *Daily Picayune* was printing eight pages a day, each page containing seven columns, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches wide by 20 inches long. Two weeks later, the paper dropped to six pages; and before May was spent, to four. Nevertheless, with six-point and smaller type, leaded and unleaded, the *Daily Picayune* packed in an astonishing volume of news—clippings, correspondence, and telegraph from many parts of the country, especially where military preparations were in the making, and from abroad. Not until June 1 did the North interfere with the free movement of mail and telegraph between the two sections, so both sides were kept pretty thoroughly informed about the enemy preparations, though apparently the Southern press was more discreet than the Northern, for on May 10, the *Daily Picayune* spoofed certain Northern journals which “grumble because we do not herald to the world how many men we have under arms, how many are organizing, where they are posted, where they are going.”

Lincoln's war proclamation; sentiment in the North; record of the business failures in New York; the burning of the summer home of Bishop Leonidas Polk of Louisiana, soon to lay down the mitre and take up the sword, at University Place, that is, Sewanee, Tennessee, by “fiendish and dastardly” abolitionists, and the saving of Mrs. Polk by her house slave, Altimore; the movements of the enemy blockading ships in the Gulf of Mexico and Lake Borgne; the full text of President Jefferson Davis' address to the Congress of the Confederate States in Montgomery, Alabama, on Tuesday, April

30, half of the bulky text making the morning edition, half the afternoon, thanks to a thunder storm which put the wire out of operation—all facets of the war shone through the *Daily Picayune's* columns.

The paper also printed daily editorials, analyzing the causes of the war, discussing the principles to which the South had dedicated itself, and tempering the determination of the people to a steel resistance. Scholarly, illuminating discussions, these, with occasional humor, as in the comment of June 8 on the North's concern about the mosquitoes which the Union armies might encounter. It was also necessary to deny the false reports with which the North was sown. In one of the most interesting of these denials, the *Daily Picayune*, May 21, gave the lie to the charge that it had printed a story saying that General Benjamin Butler was a Negro.³

When the Baltimore *Dispatch* proposed that "Distinct as the billows, but one as the sea" be turned into Latin and adopted as the motto of the South, the *Daily Picayune* traced the line to the poem "The Ocean" by James Montgomery, and, on June 18, objected, because he was "one of the most decided British abolitionists."

It also found space for stories in a lighter vein, as the two-column account, May 26, of the death of Mimi, a swallow of Paris, translated from Henry Murger's *La Vie de Bohème*; a report, May 23, from Kendall, who was in Texas, about the recovery of a man from a rattlesnake bite after drinking ninety drops of hartshorn diluted in a quart of whisky; and the story, June 22, about the New Orleans newspaper carrier whose disappearance caused much speculation while "Time's sullen shadow of departing years stole by," until the astonishing revelation that the youngster had been living near-by all the time, a charming young woman who, after this

³ This is the story which at least two newspapers of Massachusetts, the Boston *Courier* and the Newburyport *Herald*, imputed to the *Daily Picayune*: "All the Massachusetts troops now in Washington are negroes, with the exception of two or three drummer boys. Gen. Butler, in command, is a native of Liberia. Our readers may recollect old Ben, the barber who kept a shop in Poydras street, and emigrated to Liberia with a small competence. Gen. Butler is his son."

fling, decided to resume her more becoming garb—what a morsel for a community dedicated to the principle that a woman's place is the home!

After June 1 the New Orleans post office accepted mail only for delivery within the Confederacy. Pending the printing of stamps, it exacted prepayment in cash, at the rate of 5 cents per half-ounce for 500 miles. The city "sacredly and universally" observed Thursday, June 13, as a "day of Fasting and Prayer to Everlasting God," as proclaimed by the president of the Confederacy. "All the stores, offices, banks, public institutions and bar rooms were closed," chronicled the *Daily Picayune* in a column story the next morning.

Two days later the paper printed the two-column sermon which the Reverend Joseph B. Walker, pastor of the McGehee Methodist church on Carondelet street, delivered on that solemn occasion.

Early in May, the Confederacy began to fortify the maritime approaches to New Orleans. We read, for instance, in the *Daily Picayune* of the ninth that the steamboat "Acadia" carried 66 cases of ammunition and 3200 shells for Forts St. Philip and Jackson, on the lower reach of the Mississippi. After Union ships had fired the lighthouse and fort on Ship Island, and Federal gunboats had made an incursion into Lake Borgne, the common council of New Orleans, on June 7, began to plan further measures for the defense of the city. There were grave fears about the "hundreds of vagabonds and other rascals" in the lower-river and bayou country who, said the *Daily Picayune* four days later, were ready to serve the enemy—even as the same marsh scum had shown the Pakenham invaders, in the War of 1812, the only open approach to New Orleans. On July 17 the newspaper exhorted the citizens of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama to build a fleet of gunboats for the defense of the Gulf coast and the Mississippi river—build at their own expense and "look to the government for pay afterwards."

In its own blood, New Orleans had read, eleven days before, something of the horror that was to be the portion of the South. Lieutenant Colonel Charles Didier Dreux was killed on July 5 at

the Battle of Newport News—the first Louisianian to die in battle in the War Between the States. Only a few weeks before, New Orleans had bid him and the corps he organized, the Orleans Cadets, a gay good-bye; now, it had only his body and the memory of his last words, “Steady, boys!” In the most impressive military funeral New Orleans had ever seen, he was laid to rest in the city that had seen his brief flowering.⁴

Two tragic words flashed from the *Daily Picayune*’s afternoon edition of July 19—“Bull’s Run.” McDowell, the Union general, had reached Centreville, Virginia, with 28,000 men and 49 guns. Opposite him were Beauregard and Johnston, based on Manassas railroad junction, with 31,972 men and 57 guns. McDowell sent forward a brigade to reconnoiter, and it clashed with the Confederate forces at Blackburn’s Ford on the small stream Bull Run. After a sharp skirmish the Union forces fell back. Each side lost about 60 men. But the first war-reportings magnified this brief engagement into a five-hour struggle in which the Union losses were estimated at 1000 men. “The first pitched battle in the field,” said the *Daily Picayune*. The telegram reached the city before daylight. Electrically, the news swept through the city. Hysterical men awoke the streets with their shouts. Somebody touched off a cannon parked near Lafayette Square. “And there was some fusilading in the way of champagne corks,” said the *Daily Picayune*. “We have not seen the streets so crowded of a morning for a long time, the ladies in particular having turned out as if it were a gala day,” it added.

McDowell prepared for the Battle of Bull Run. He was confident of crushing the military resistance of the South. New York newspapers visualized the meeting as a five-mile race track, in which the Confederates would do the spectacular galloping. So confident was Washington that its fashionable men and women, on the morning of Sunday, July 21, went to the battlefield as to a picnic,

⁴ His memory is carried on the granite monument at Canal street and Jefferson Davis Parkway; the monument was unveiled in April, 1922.

garbed in their brightest raiment and carrying hampers of lunch and baskets of wine.

In the ruddy glow of the sunrise the Union rush at Blackburn's Ford drove the Confederates back twenty-five hundred yards, then broke against the stone wall that was General T. J. Jackson. On that axis, the Confederates rallied, and drove back the Federals in incredible panic. The route of the stampede was strewn with arms, knapsacks, and supplies of all kinds. The tired Confederates feasted on the rich picnic lunches. If their commanders had realized the full extent of the victory, they could have marched into an undefended Washington that night.

The news began to reach New Orleans in the *Daily Picayune's* afternoon edition of July 22. Each report added enlarging details to the fantastic victory. On the authority of Jefferson Davis it was stated that 15,000 Confederates had defeated 35,000 Yankees; Union losses were estimated at 10,000 to 15,000, Confederate at 1500 to 3000.

Considering the confusion of that day and the meager facilities for gathering and organizing the facts, it is astonishing that these first reports were not further from the target than they were. Actually engaged on the Union side were 17,676 men; on the Confederate, 18,053. Union losses were 460 killed, 1124 wounded, 1312 missing, total 2896, and 29 guns; Confederate, 387 killed, 1582 wounded, 13 missing, total 1982.

New Orleans celebrated—oh, how it celebrated! It thrilled to the magnificent performance of the Washington Artillery. It shouted the names of all the Louisiana men who had helped to make that stupendous day—especially Beauregard, glorious Beauregard!

While it celebrated, it thought of the future. Distributed at the rate of \$10 a month to each needy volunteer's family, the relief fund of \$9469.30, raised by the efforts of the women, had been exhausted by July 19. The *Daily Picayune* called for contributions of vegetables and other foodstuffs for the hungry women and children. On

July 30 the city opened subscriptions for wounded soldiers. From the front came calls for more men.

Outward and visible sign of the economic crash of New Orleans—the *Daily Picayune*'s advertising had shrunk to eighteen columns, only two of them devoted to the transportation movement.

Preparations

NEW ORLEANS must be defended from the attack which the shifting of the battle theater into the Mississippi Valley portended. Early in September, 1861, Paducah, Kentucky, had fallen to the one Union general who had shown an ability to think—Ulysses S. Grant. Men and munitions must be sent to other threatened parts of the Confederacy. The penniless families of soldiers must be fed. Problems multiplied themselves in a city from which business had disappeared like chalk marks in a rainstorm.

Thousands of men volunteered before Governor Thomas O. Moore issued the proclamation of September 28, 1861, bringing all able-bodied males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five into military duty. Every reporter enlisted, and all became officers, according to the *Daily Picayune*, January 18, 1862; the Boys' High School closed because so many of the students had joined up. Eleven days before General Mansfield Lovell, on October 18, became the commander of the New Orleans Military Department, which included Louisiana and Mississippi, an editorial in the afternoon edition of the *Daily Picayune* recorded: "The city of New Orleans is assuming the aspect of a huge camp. Everywhere and all the time, the din of martial preparation is going on—the tramp of the soldiery, the inspiring sound of the martial music, and the rumble of wagons carrying camp equipages, munitions and artil-

lery to the points selected by military science for the public defences."

Months before, the city had begun sending supplies to Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the Mississippi, 75 miles below New Orleans; and was then throwing up new fortifications on the upper and lower sides of the city, an earthwork at Carrollton, 2 miles long by 9 feet high, with a ditch 30 feet wide and 6 deep; and an earthwork at Chalmette, 1500 feet long; was building the "Mississippi," the most formidable naval weapon ever conceived to that time, a hull 265 by 56 feet, its two-foot thick sides armored with three-inch iron, carrying a powerful battery, and driven by three propellers; and was preparing to close the river with a huge chain, stretched between the forts and supported by anchored hulks.

This chain, according to the *Daily Picayune* of December 13, "an eminent and highly patriotic house in New Orleans, whose names are to be found on all patriotic donation lists," bought in Mobile for 4½ cents a pound; and, after paying transportation charges of ½ cent a pound, offered it to the New Orleans authorities for 15 cents a pound, "only 200 per cent profit."

New Orleans' iron foundries turned out cannon, which the Confederacy immediately requisitioned; improvised powder mills made powder of doubtful quality, as was revealed when the *Daily Picayune*, on March 19, 1862, printed the fact that just before going into battle, the Orleans Guards battalion had discovered its cartridges were worthless, "the powder in each one being damp and in a solid lump." One man began to manufacture Irish pikes—eight-foot shafts tipped with one-foot spear heads, with hatchet and hook beneath; but how many he made, at \$12 each, or what was their service, we do not know, for the *Daily Picayune* made no reference to them after the announcement of October 28.

By November 4, Louisiana had mustered into service, according to the figures printed in the *Daily Picayune*, 29,000 men. More than 20,000 of them enlisted in New Orleans, virtually the entire military population; more than 18,000 were on the different battle

fronts of the Confederacy.¹ In the weeks that followed, New Orleans stripped itself of men and guns and supplies, at the urging of the frantic Confederacy, though the city knew as early as September 10, from the *Daily Picayune's* dispatch describing the preparations in the New York and Philadelphia shipyards, that it would be attacked by the "largest naval expedition ever known in this country." It did not have the Confederate government's strange illusion that the attack would be from upriver—an illusion which persisted as late as the orders of April 10, when Farragut was at the water gates of the city, that the ironclad "Louisiana" steam upstream to Fort Pillow. How could it, when on September 20, it knew that the Federals were erecting batteries on Chandeleur Island, off the Louisiana coast, and preparing to receive at least 12,000 soldiers; and on October 31, that the Federal fleet was steaming south, by sea!

The relief system which social leaders organized in the romantic glow of Sumter broke down after two months. Hungry women made threatening demonstrations in front of the Relief Committee's office on Gravier street between Camp and St. Charles, when on August 1 their semimonthly stipend of \$5 was not forthcoming. More than three hundred stormed into the office of Mayor John T. Monroe. He had once been a day laborer on the river front, and he knew what want was. Distributing 40 half-dollars to those with babies in arms, he promised that the city would take prompt and effective action.

A \$10,000 appropriation on August 7, and a free-food distribution center, opened August 13, met the most clamant exigencies.

The food center was in the new waterworks building at Canal

¹ Fifty thousand men are estimated to have marched to war from Louisiana—one seventh of the white population. About half of them volunteered, the rest enlisted after the enactment of conscription. Many volunteers joined more for economic than patriotic reasons. Work disappeared, and it was "fight or starve." To families of soldiers, too, went public relief benefits. Social pressures, too, induced volunteering. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana*, 170-73. According to a report by the Secretary of State of Louisiana in 1888, that state furnished 36,243 infantrymen, 4024 artillerymen, and 10,056 cavalrymen, total, 50,323. *Daily Picayune*, May 20, 1888.

street and the river. To it, planters contributed fresh vegetables, merchants supplies, and well-to-do citizens money. Distributions were made on Tuesdays and Fridays.

The first day's issue, to 1017 families totaling 2970 persons, included: 10 barrels of beef, 2 beeves, 300 pounds of codfish, 4 barrels of molasses, 30 barrels of sweet and Irish potatoes, 3 tierces (a tierce was 42 wine gallons) of rice, 22 barrels of cornmeal, 5 barrels of dried apples and peaches, 2 hogsheads of green corn, 100 pumpkins, 5 barrels of sugar, 5 barrels of onions, 4 barrels of okra, and large amounts of beans, vinegar, salt, and other supplies.

As more men entered the army, the number of families on relief increased. By February, 1862, it was about 2000. From its opening to November 27, 1871, the free market received cash gifts of \$13,415.53, and an unestimated volume of food supplies, according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 29. By spring this relief agency was breaking under the heavy demands. On March 15 the *Daily Picayune* reported the death of a Negro boy from starvation.

One landlord, according to announcement of February 27 in that paper, promised free rent to families whose men had volunteered. Whether he was the only one with such an expansive heart, or whether he was the only one to make a public virtue of private necessity, the record saith not.

There were also many benefit entertainments for new commands organizing, for soldiers in the field, and for the shattered victims in hospitals. On August 26 there was a public call for donations of hospital supplies, clothing, liquor, and disinfectants for sick and wounded soldiers. The Ladies Sewing Association, during the five-month period which ended January 31, 1862, made or renovated 2871 pieces of clothing and 1519 tent flies for various volunteer corps, and 6724 pieces of clothing for needy families, according to the *Daily Picayune* of February 3. The largest benefit was the free-gift lottery, organized in the fall of 1861. There were 2442 prizes, donations from prominent households. Tickets were \$1 each. The lottery wheel broke under the weight of the tickets. The

yield, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 2, 1862, was \$59,789.38.

"Business amounts to almost nothing . . . there are no sea vessels arriving . . . and hardly any river steamers," admitted the *Daily Picayune* on August 21. Small comfort to read in that newspaper on November 22 that the property assessment of New Orleans, including the 11,329 slaves, was \$128,953,213. The ridiculed Union blockade had squeezed the values out of Louisiana's agricultural wealth; New Orleans' gigantic port business had crumbled like Dead Sea apples. On September 16, Governor Moore issued an appeal that banks suspend specie payment. It was necessary to conserve all financial resources so that the Confederacy might float its \$100,000,000 treasury note issue. To comply might mean forfeiture of the banks' charters, but the governor promised to call a vote of the people to legalize the action, in accordance with constitutional provision.

When the people went about their marketing next morning, the hucksters could not make change. There was "a great commotion," as the *Daily Picayune* called it. Housewives had to buy more or less than their needs, according to the money in hand. The city council on the nineteenth voted to issue \$500,000 in \$1, \$2 and \$3 notes, but this assistance was a long time forthcoming, and by April 2, 1862, only \$108,730 of these small bills were reported to be in circulation. The Citizens' Bank issued \$2.50 bills "which" said the *Daily Picayune* of September 20, "are but the \$5 of that bank cut in two." Street railway tickets were used for fractional currency, but they were so easy to counterfeit that on January 16, 1862, the companies abolished the ticket system. A barber, George Braus, issued \$2000 worth of tickets, redeemable at his shop, Royal and Customhouse streets, and the people used them, as the *Daily Picayune* related on February 18, until he skipped out.

At the instance of ninety-three cotton factors in New Orleans, the governor prohibited the movement of any cotton to New Orleans after October 10; and on March 13, 1862, extended the pro-

hibition to all parts of the Mississippi river in Louisiana. They took the queer position, in the published petition of September 23, that the South must make this sacrifice to keep cotton from slipping through the "inefficient blockade" and supplying the "manufacturing interests of Europe and the United States with the product of which they are most in need," thereby giving "aid and comfort to our enemies" and bolstering "that quasi-neutrality which European nations have thought proper to avow." But this did not fool anybody. The people knew that only an occasional ship got through the cordon. Producers in Louisiana and other parts of the South burned thousands of bales of their valueless staple. Plant corn, not sugar cane or cotton, the *Daily Picayune* editorially urged on April 1 and 5. Eight days later, it spread upon the first page T. Dunn English's poem to "King Cotton," a poignant tribute to the past, and a yearning hope for the future.²

Scarcities, a grim parade, marched into the daily life. The coffee supply became so low that the French press began to speculate about the possibility of confecting from carrots, beans, and sweet potatoes what the *Daily Picayune*, on September 10, called a "succedaneum." The dreadful prospect could not be contemplated through the bright glare of its synonym "substitute." The *Bee*, casting about for consolation, suggested that coffee might be an impairment to feminine beauty. Without admitting that anything could dim the charm of New Orleans women, the *Daily Picayune* reported that a man had recently found two sacks of coffee on the levee: "this doesn't look like any scarcity." Nevertheless, by November 14, C. H. Werckmüller, a druggist at Camp and Poydras streets, was advertising a succedaneum with a dandelion base.

Tea ran low, but there was hope in the *Daily Picayune's* announcement of November 13 that W. H. Garland of Summit, Mississippi, was growing it "luxuriantly." To relieve the shortage of soap, the *Daily Picayune* on October 24 besought sugar planters

² T. Dunn English of Newark, New Jersey, is better known for his "Ben Bolt."

to extract the potash from their furnace ashes. By December 6 the dimming of many lustrous heads of hair testified to the dwindling supply of dyes. It is recorded that the gentlemen had been the principal users of such blandishments. The stern moralists rejoiced when the pomatum and perfume ran low, for such allurements were "proof of national decadence": they cited Babylon.

By November 27 the proverb about pins was more than a thrift hortation. Sewing machine needles had become a memory weeks before. To take the place of kerosene, merchants advertised "cottonseed oil, burning fluid or spirit gas, camphene (non-explosive) and parafine wax candles." Luckier than his competitors, "Mr. W. H. Perry, 112 Poydras street," on March 1, 1862, rapturously offered for sale "a few barrels of beautiful coal oil."

To those who craved oysters on the half-shell, "the doings of those sixty-five Federal ships" reported off the coast of Louisiana by the *Daily Picayune* of February 18, were especially exacerbating. In place of the bivalves, the oyster saloons stocked sardines, in cans. The salt situation became inflaming, though the *Daily Picayune*, on February 9, commented hopefully on certain developments John M. Avery was making at his "Island Salt Works in St. Mary parish." Reminding them that "the weather is becoming warmer," the *Daily Picayune* on April 17 urged chemists to educate the people on the preservative qualities of pyroligneous acid when applied to meat: the ice, imported in sailing vessels from the North, was running out. Because of the scarcity of fish, the Catholic archbishop ruled that the Lenten abstinence from meat applied to Fridays only.

Prices soared. Bakers short-weighted their bread, unable to make a profit under existing regulations. Because of a shortage of paper, the *Daily Picayune*, after December 18, suspended the afternoon edition, except on Mondays when it took the place of the morning edition. "These were the times," as the editor observed on February 5, after shoes had risen to \$9 a pair, "that tried men's soles."

Two weeks after martial law went into effect, the provost mar-

shal on April 1, 1862, posted a list of retail prices as follows: beef, 8 to 20 cents a pound depending on the cut; pork, 20 cents a pound; hams and sides, 30 cents a pound; shoulders, 27 cents a pound; lard, 23 cents a pound; flour, \$12 to \$18 a barrel; bread, 5 cents for a 7-ounce loaf; rice, 8 cents a pound; salt, 7 cents a pound; corn, \$1.50 a bushel; cornmeal, \$1.80 a bushel; oats, \$1.25 a bushel; wheat, \$2.50 a bushel; crabgrass hay, \$45 a ton; Western hay, \$65 a ton.

By April 21 seven large bakeries were out of flour. The *Daily Picayune* announced that the city had sent agents to Tennessee and Texas to buy flour. "In the meantime, we have in the city 30,000 sacks of corn . . . and 3000 tierces of rice," and several thousand oxen were reported to be en route to the city.

Yet the spirit of enterprise maintained itself. The streetcar system, which burgeoned in the opening weeks of the war, sent out new shoots. On August 23 the Canal line announced plans to extend its service all the way to the New Basin canal at Half-Way House; and as late as April 23, 1862, the *Daily Picayune* reported that J. Nicholson had paid \$156,000 for a twenty-year franchise to run a line from Canal and St. Charles streets up to Toledano. Between there and Upperline street, lay the City of Jefferson, in Jefferson parish, and it, too, felt the urge. It sold a streetcar franchise to connect with the New Orleans Magazine and Prytania lines, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on August 29, for \$5. Though we may accept the alderman's implication when he protested that the right was worth at least \$10,000, here at least was a company announcing its readiness to invest in the future of this section at a time when the present was doubtful. To the construction activities of the streetcar companies, the petition of October 11 that the city council of New Orleans allow them to use T-rails, instead of the flat rails which were "difficult to procure," bears testimony.

About the City of Jefferson, the *Daily Picayune* said on October 6: "There is no prettier laid-off city on the banks of the Mississippi." It lay "within half an hour's ride of New Orleans." It had

a population of 5000, a number of public institutions and schools, and a newspaper, the *Jefferson Gazette*. It was governed by a mayor and board of aldermen.

Above Jefferson lay the town of Carrollton, which, according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 13, had a population of 2776, including 347 Negroes.

Through passenger and mail service between New Orleans and Houston was advertised on October 1. This was a 444-mile development. The route and the facilities were: Railroad from New Orleans to Berwick, 80 miles; steamboat from there to New Iberia, 70 miles; four-horse postchaise from there to Niblett, 140 miles; steamer from there to Beaumont, 70 miles; railroad from there to Houston, 84 miles. On November 18, "the most pleasant, cheap and expeditious route between New Orleans and all points east as far as Richmond and Chattanooga" was announced with the completion, by the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad, of the "gap between Mobile, Montgomery and Pensacola." On October 13, telegraph service was opened between New Orleans and Berwick. The first message which ticked into New Orleans was ominous: "The Yankees captured on Saturday last the schooner 'Zavalla' with a cargo valued at \$25,000."

As the stresses, fears, and sacrifices increased in intensity, some of the people became panicky. On October 7, a sudden movement of the Thirteenth Louisiana Volunteers gave rise to a rumor that the Yankee forces were steaming up the river. Some time later, a firecracker, tossed by a prankster into a school building, set off the alarm that the city was under bombardment. A great many persons turned their property and paper money into diamonds and pearls, as the *Daily Picayune* noted on February 20, 1862. But as a whole, the city met the distresses of the present, and faced the dreads of the future calmly, even cheerfully.

To that high courage the *Daily Picayune* contributed with its daily editorials, interpreting the Confederacy and proclaiming the impregnability of New Orleans. On January 1, 1862, it began a

series entitled "Chronicle of the Notable Social, Political and Military Events of the Second American Revolution." The "Chronicle" began with the election of Lincoln in 1860. It was a daily feature until January 29, and after that it appeared intermittently until March 9. It would fill a large book. Sometimes, the *Picayune* stretched the facts in describing the military security of New Orleans, as on October 31, when it said the city had "400 guns and 40,000 men"; and on November 25, when it estimated that in the military review, two days before, 20,000 to 38,500 soldiers stood in line on Canal street; but wartime propaganda is a law and a morality unto itself.

"New Orleans," said the *Daily Picayune* on February 21, 1862, "does its best to keep up the reputation it has always had, of being the gayest city in the American states," and "hardly a day passes without a concert, a ball or a theatrical performance." Not that the season which the Academy of Music had opened, September 16, with a group of vaudeville turns, was the brilliant burst it had been in 1860, when opera and drama kept the theaters filled. In the lean season of 1861-62, the principal entertainments, besides the amateur theatricals, concerts and balls which were primarily benefits, were sacred panoramas at 326 Camp street, cosmoramic pictures at Vannuchi's Museum, opposite the dark St. Charles theater; a pantechnoptomon,³ as the management persisted in advertising it, at the Academy of Music, a little below the St. Charles. On March 12, the Metairie Jockey Club decided to call off the spring meeting.

Of Christmas Eve, the *Daily Picayune* said next morning: "For many a day, we have not seen our streets so gay as they were last night. In spite of the stringent times, the shops were full of people buying Christmas gifts; but we noticed that generally the cheaper articles were in greater demand than any previous evening. The sidewalks were enlivened by the presence of urchins firing their

³ The nearest dictionary approach is "pantechnicon," which means a London bazaar for all sorts of art works; a warehouse; a furniture van.

crackers and pistols. In the restaurants, the Germans spent a great portion of the night singing loudly their dearest *Weihnachtslieder*, and the French sitting around the festive board did their best to have as lively a *réveillon* as it is possible this winter."

On New Year's—like a May day, warm but tempered by short showers—the *Daily Picayune* carried this short editorial paragraph: "May the year on which we enter be a happy one to our city, our state, our Confederacy, our people and all their interests." It chronicled two days later: "There was not as much visiting as usual."

New Orleans celebrated the Battle of New Orleans with a military parade, and the paper dropped the next day's issue. With a military parade—15,000 strong, according to the reporter's estimate—it celebrated, on January 26, the anniversary of the Ordinance of Secession. With Washington's birthday, it combined the anniversary celebration of the Confederacy's presidential inauguration. It observed the Carnival with seven balls between February 22 and March 4, Mardi Gras day; but to prevent the operation of spies, it called off street masking.

On November 15, 1861, and February 28, 1862, the city observed, with special church services, the period of "Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer" proclaimed by President Jefferson Davis; and on April 10, it thundered the *Te Deum* in all the Catholic churches in honor of the Battle of Shiloh.

The *Daily Picayune* recorded, September 6, that "the good denizens of St. Peter street" paused in their war work to remove "the old escutcheon of the United States left over the upper window of the Orleans Artillery Arsenal" in the Cabildo block, and apologized for the "oversight" that had allowed the "obnoxious emblem" to endure that long. The city did not forget its flowers; and on October 1, the *Daily Picayune* found space, amid the rush of war news, for a Page-1 acknowledgment of a "beautiful bouquet" which included dahlias "of almost every imaginable tint," jessamine "with its rich perfume," and rosebuds, "relics of sum-

mer." As late as April 2, that newspaper reported the city council's concern for the "newly planted trees on certain thoroughfares, which are spoiled by cows, goats, horses and other quadrupeds allowed a free pasture on the neutral ground of certain streets," and the allocation of 75 cents each for fencing in the trees with "whitewashed pickets."

"With pleasure" the newspaper on December 11 announced that fashion had begun to contract the vast spread of hoop skirts "more to the natural form of woman," and not only would it be unnecessary for a man to "walk the circumference of Clay's monument to get around or out of the way of a lady," but also there would be "increased room in the cars and omnibuses." On September 6 the paper called attention to the encrusted and indurated dirt upon the street gaslights, which reduced their luminosity to vague blobs; on March 9, 1862, to the bewildering method of numbering houses—"on the one door the number 69, on the next 342, and on the third one 88, on the fourth one 404, and so on"; on April 6, to the "organ grinders, fiddlers and harp-players who pester some portions of the city," and proposed sending them against the enemy "to drive him mad" with "polkas, galops, schottisches, mazurkas and national airs"; and on April 23, to the "noxious fluid which comes from distilleries, etc.," in the New Basin canal neighborhood "and fills the street gutters, emitting an effluvia that is so offensive as to be almost insupportable."

A novelty of the English language, at this period, were the words "strategy" and "strategic" which the war news threw into increasing prominence, together with such variants as "strategic" and "strategetic." In reply to a reader who asked for exact orthographical guidance, the *Daily Picayune* on March 19 said: "This is a new word . . . coined from the Greek words *stratos*, an army, and *ago*, to lead"; but heightened the confusion when it added "stratagemical" and "strategetical" to the collection.⁴

⁴ According to the *New English Dictionary*, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1898-1928), Vol. IX, Pt. 1, 1087, the word "strategy" in its present meaning began to appear early in the

In the advertising columns, the leeches of the druggist at 216 Chartres street competed for the buyers' interest with the camels of an unnamed person at 131 Common street. One wishes that the record were fuller about those camels. A mystery of the period was the case of Mary Murray who, according to the *Daily Picayune* of August 20, "was brought to the Hospital with her —— broken." We search in vain for further details on the reach and scope of that disaster. The addicts of the advertising columns learned with feelings which may be imagined that "The doubt with which an oft-deceived community is apt to look upon all medical preparations, has long since been completely vanquished by the triumphant, universal and invariable success of Hostetter's Stomach Bitters," the effects of which were "miraculous" and "astonishing" in the order named. An excessive modesty kept this enthusiastic promoter from claiming the credit for the amazingly good health conditions of New Orleans—considering the sanitation of that period. Yellow fever took a holiday. On November 12 the *Daily Picayune* reported that there had been 913 fewer deaths from May to October, the season of heaviest mortality, in 1861 than in 1860—total 2941, yet 1860 had been considered a year of "unusual healthiness."

Later, when universal military service went into effect, the advertising columns blossomed with such appeals as this one of February 11, 1862: "ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS BOUNTY.—And complete outfit—A substitute is wanted to go to Deep Creek, Va., Orleans Cadets, Company B, Capt. Alex. Hart. The applicant must be healthy, and produce evidence of good character. None others need apply. One born and raised in this city preferred. Apply to Box 1618, Post Office." The usual bounty was \$50; this was the peak offer—the exigency must have been dire.

nineteenth century. Charles James's *A New and Enlarged Military Dictionary* (London, 1802) said that "strategy differs materially from tactics." Other recorded uses came in 1825. Walter Scott used it in his *Napoleon* in 1827; Macaulay in 1833; Washington Irving in 1837. The *New English Dictionary* records the use of the word in 1688, but in a different sense, for the meaning then was "a province under a strategus or general."

Early in 1862 the *Daily Picayune* demanded cash of all transient advertisers because of "the changed conditions of circumstances."

The city received a new war thrill on September 30, 1861, when the first contingent of military prisoners—244 Union soldiers—arrived from Jackson, Mississippi. They were received by a guard of three companies—and everybody in New Orleans who could go to the railroad station—and were marched to the city prison through silent throngs. They were kept in New Orleans until February 7, 1862, when all—492, according to the *Daily Picayune's* record—were sent to North Carolina.

Capture

MILITARY authority began to tighten the regulations early in the fall of 1861. On the same day that he proclaimed universal military service, September 28, Governor Moore ordered banks to close at 2 P.M. and other business houses at 3, so that their employees might report to the drill grounds. After October 1, the curfew for Negro slaves was rung at 8 instead of 9 P.M.; and after October, no one could leave the city without a passport from the governor. Proclaimed for Orleans, Jefferson, St. Bernard, and Plaquemines parishes, martial law went into effect March 15, 1862, when the crisis of battle was near. The regulations required bar-rooms, gambling establishments, pool rooms, clubs, and all places of business except drug stores and restaurants to close at 8 P.M.; limited white employment on steamboats to officer positions; prohibited traffic in paper money that might promote general distrust; and required everyone to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy.

The *Daily Picayune* welcomed the orders, and no doubt the clear-thinking people of New Orleans did, but the "old tipplers," as the newspaper remarked on March 16, were "considerably annoyed" because their evening potations were cut short. It predicted that the number of "drunken individuals lying at night on the sidewalks and picked up by the policemen will decrease considerably."

In the news evaluations of the day, the frenzies of a war-preparing, invasion-expecting Louisiana were poor copy. "There is hardly anything stirring in town, and reporters wander in vain from Lafayette Square to the lower cotton presses without finding the least item worth reporting," one of them wrote, in travail of spirit, in the *Daily Picayune* on August 21, 1861. He gave the reasons: no business,¹ no steamboat or steamship arrivals, no epidemic, above all, hardly any fires, accidents, or crime "since most of the fighting men have left for the seat of war." The emphasis of the press on disaster was as insistent then as now.

To the dearth of such news we owe the few lines of January 18, 1862, immortalizing the Algiers goat which every morning boarded the 11 o'clock ferry for New Orleans, and returned every afternoon on the 3 o'clock boat, after a ramble under the wharves of the city. We wonder what inspired this persistence. To the same space-filling need we owe the brief reference to the cloudburst of September 8, 1861, just as the congregation, leaving the First Presbyterian church, which until 1938 faced Lafayette Square, reached Poydras and St. Charles streets. Everybody took sanctuary in the barrooms, predominant in that neighborhood; and the women "were forced to become unwilling spectators of scenes in these saloons which they had only heard spoken of, or read of, in novels"—men playing dominoes, in shirt sleeves, or drinking beer, cocktails, and smashes. "The ladies," so runs the record, "seemed greatly to enjoy the exhibition."

Proving the drop which crime and violence made after the translation of New Orleans' manpower to the front, the *Daily Picayune*, on December 3, printed the coroner's figures comparing the twelve-month periods ending November 30, in 1860 and 1861. There were 52 homicides in the latter year, as compared with 80 in the former; 22 suicides as compared with 32; 82 drownings as com-

¹ Seeking melancholy comfort in memories of days gone by, the *Daily Picayune* on April 13, 1862, twelve days before Farragut took the city, printed the verses on "King Cotton" by T. Dunn English, the author of "Ben Bolt." "King Cotton" is reprinted in Appendix B.

pared with 106; 46 other accidental deaths as compared with 107; and 23 deaths due to drinking as compared with 79: total, 225 in 1861 as compared with 404 in 1860.

We of today see no reason to order out the bands because of this record in a city to which the census ascribed a population of 168,675; but, everything is relative.

Men were quick with steel and lead in those days; sudden death was taken in life's daily stride, and even the coroner's classifications sometimes showed haste in an unexciting task, as the *Daily Picayune* recorded on April 1, 1862, when that official ascribed to hemorrhage the sudden taking-off of Vincent Discovitch who had "died almost instantly from two stabs in the heart." Even Ferdinand Zink's attack on Laurence Birckholctz "because he couldn't put up with a man who had but two vowels in his name and ten consonants" received insignificant mention on October 17, 1861. The report, December 4, of the bloody duel between the colonel and a private of a recently organized militia corps, because the latter disapproved of the cut and color of the uniform adopted by the former, made the paper because of the prominence of the men; their names were not given, but everybody knew who they were.

.Of 132 persons charged with homicide during the two years, 10 were found guilty of murder, 14 of manslaughter, 6 of murder without capital punishment; 45 were acquitted, 34 were not arrested, 21 had not yet been brought to trial; one committed suicide, and one was adjudged insane.

Fortunately, the women brightened the reporter's corner. Time after time, the *Daily Picayune* referred to the increase of beligerency among them. They fought "under the shallow pretext that there is a big fight going on elsewhere," it chronicled on August 28; and on April 6, next year, it proposed to organize "three or four companies" from "those who are brought before the Recorder for assault and battery," for service at the front. Goaded by those street musicians, such a corps might have given history a different direction.

Two weeks before the Federal armada weighed anchor for the South, New Orleans had its first taste of battle. This was on October 12, when a Confederate fleet of five boats, mounting fourteen guns, dashed down the river and attacked four blockading ships, mounting sixty-three guns. The "Manassas" wrecked one of the enemy craft, but its ram was twisted in the encounter, and its machinery was thrown out of adjustment. From a military standpoint, the engagement was of no moment; but the brilliant performance of the Confederate vessels against a much superior power made New Orleans almost hysterical with joy. It showed what dash and daring might do. If only the Confederate government did not drain off the defensive power as fast as it was organized! If only the "Mississippi" were ready for launching! All the mechanics who could find a working position labored at that task. Hundreds of gas lights made it possible to work through the nights.

Down the Mississippi Valley blazed the torch which Grant carried to Paducah in the fall. Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland river fell in February; New Madrid on the Mississippi, in March; and the incredibly strong Island No. 10, below there, in April. That same month Shiloh yielded its 11,000 Confederate dead—many of them from Louisiana. A week later, on Sunday, April 13, Admiral David Glasgow Farragut began his attack on the forts below New Orleans.

The *Daily Picayune* did not issue on the fourteenth. It described that artillery duel on Tuesday in an inside feature almost a column long. The reporter was at Fort Jackson when the storm of metal started; he was impressed more by the pyrotechnics of war, if we may call a rain of 285-pound shells that, than anything else. His attitude reflects the harmlessness of the bombardment.

Farragut's fleet, including 21 mortar schooners, totaled 47 vessels, mounting 310 guns. Against them, New Orleans had Forts Jackson and St. Philip, each manned by 700 soldiers, the former armed with 62 guns, the latter with 47—more than half of them

smoothbores; the "Louisiana," an armored ship with 16 guns, not all of them mounted, and with imperfectly functioning machinery; the "Manassas"; half a dozen river steamboats, improvised into rams, and armored with bales of cotton; several small gunboats; a number of fire rafts, and equipment to tow them; and the chain across the river. Yielding to popular hysteria, the military authorities ordered the launching of the "Mississippi," far from ready. She was never able to leave her moorings. The earthworks at New Orleans had no guns, and not 2000 men to defend them. "There was a want of organization and discipline." ²

Moored about a mile and a half below the forts, and camouflaged with tree branches, the mortars kept up their bombardment for ten days. Beginning at 6:30 A.M., the grim work went on all day. The forts replied vigorously. The noise of the cannonading was heard occasionally at New Orleans, at Baton Rouge, and at Clinton, which were, respectively, 50, 130, and 150 miles away, air line, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on the twenty-fourth. Two days before, it estimated that the enemy used 400,000 pounds of powder to drive 1000 tons of metal at the forts, and kill five and wound ten soldiers. Two of the Federal mortars were sunk.

At night, the fire rafts drifted down the river, but did no serious damage.

On the night of April 20, two of Farragut's gunboats laid alongside the unguarded chain, and sailors severed it with cold chisels. The barrier was down. Farragut organized his attack. The fleet began to move at 2 A.M., April 24. The hulls were daubed with yellow Mississippi mud to make them less visible to the Confederate gunners; the gun carriages and decks were whitewashed, to make the equipment more visible to the crews.

Proceeding at four miles an hour, the Federal column began to pass the forts at 3 A.M. Desperate metal leaped from the land batteries. The "Manassas" steamed ponderously about the job of ramming, but failed to deliver an effective blow. Becoming unmanageable, she was cast adrift by her crew, who boarded the "Louisi-

² Clement A. Evans, *Confederate Military History*, 12 vols. (Atlanta, 1899), XII, 59.

ana.” That armored vessel’s machinery was not working, and so she served only as a floating battery, moored to the shore. She fought well; and sustained a full broadside from one of the Federal ships at the distance of about thirty feet, without being penetrated. The tug “Mosher” managed to push a fire raft against Farragut’s flagship, the “Hartford,” before she was sent to the bottom. For a time, half of the “Hartford’s” crew fought men, while the other half fought fire.

All but three of Farragut’s ships passed the forts and moved up-river. Union losses were 37 men killed, 147 wounded; total losses in the forts, 11 killed, 25 wounded; other Confederate losses were not reported. Her crew set the “Louisiana” afire, and the mechanics destroyed the “Mississippi” at her dock.

It was the end for New Orleans under the Confederacy. The earthworks at Carrollton had saved the river from flooding when the river broke through the levee above there; but neither they nor the Chalmette works, without artillery, could offer any resistance to armed men.

Farragut anchored his fleet off New Orleans on the morning of April 25. The *Daily Picayune* in its two-page issue of the twenty-sixth announced the fact to all who had time or inclination to read the story on the back page without headline—less than 2¾ inches of type containing 158 words, the most objective reporting on record, beginning: “The Federal fleet, that has so long been threatening this city, succeeded, yesterday morning, in passing the last line of our defenses, notwithstanding a most gallant and vigorous resistance, at the fortifications below Chalmette.”³

³ Other New Orleans papers reported, on April 26, 1862, the capture of the city as follows: *Commercial Bulletin*, under “City Intelligence” on Page 1, sixteen lines on the destruction of supplies and material the day before; on Page 2, under “Commercial,” it said, “The surrender of the city will, we presume, be consummated this morning”; and on the same page, it ran a seven-inch editorial on the “humiliation” of surrender; the *Bee*, twelve inches in French on Page 1 and twelve inches in English on Page 2 on the arrival of the Federals; *Daily True Delta*, eight-inch editorial on Page 2 on “The Results Yesterday”; *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung*, half a column on Page 2 in the “Local” column. Of the *Daily Crescent* and the *Daily Delta*, the April 26 issues are not in the bound files available for research.

Defiance

WHEN THE bell of Christ church at Canal and Dauphine streets began to beat out the alarm on the morning of Friday, April 25, 1862, the people of New Orleans rushed through a driving rain-storm to shout defiance at Farragut's battle-angry fleet, taking position in front of the city which lay at pointblank range under the loaded and aimed guns, for the Mississippi was at flood stage and the ships rode high above the street level.

They knew they had been sacrificed by the Confederate government's bungling, that their leadership had been incompetent, that they could have organized and carried through a better defense than the officers sent by the Confederacy—as newspapers of the time testify, as Marion Southwood, who went through those agonizing days, states,¹ and as competent military analysis, years after the tumult and the shouting had died, proves. But the same determination which sent Major Waldemar Hyllestad's four companies of Zouaves to Pensacola, on March 29, 1861, when the South did not believe the North would fight, still animated the people when General Mansfield Lovell came fleeing up the river, the day before, from the lost battle at the forts.

Citizens began to destroy the immense physical wealth of the port, lest it profit the invaders. Fifteen thousand bales of cotton they rolled upon the levees, and set afire; to these slow flames they

¹ *Beauty and Booty* . . . (New York, 1867).

fed the brittle fragrance of the tobacco in the fat warehouses; they set the torch to a dozen ships which, stuffed with commodities, were awaiting an opportunity to run the blockade, and to twenty or so steamboats; they burned the coalyards, the woodyards and the lumberyards; they sank the drydocks; they smashed machinery in factories; they dumped sugar and molasses into the river and upon the muddy streets. The sky was palled with the vastness of the destruction—later estimated at more than \$10,000,000. Planters in the interior destroyed an immense amount of cotton.

Law and order broke down. Furious mobs roared that Yankee gold had opened the river gate. Hungry men looted stores.

But New Orleans held to the cause to which it had already devoted so much—not only the Southerners, but the citizens and subjects of other countries resident there, even the consuls of foreign governments who, abandoning even the fiction of neutrality preserved by their chancelleries, made themselves one with the Confederates.

“No surrender!” Mayor John T. Monroe’s scornful reply to Faragut’s demand, was the voice of the people. Even the threat to shell the city and blast the levee which held back the rolling river did not bring down the flag above City Hall. “The city is yours by the power of brute force,” Monroe wrote on the twenty-sixth, and added the defiance: “It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her.” In a shower of grapeshot on that same day, four men tore down the Union colors which a naval detail had raised above the mint, dragged the hated emblem through the cheering city, and tore it into shreds, which they distributed as souvenirs. Proudly blazoning their names—W. B. Mumford, Lieutenant N. Holmes, Sergeant Burns, and James Reed—the *Daily Picayune* said: “They deserve great credit for their patriotic act.” In a half-column editorial on the twenty-seventh, that newspaper urged the people to nail their courage to the “calm and reliant hope for the moment which we may confidently trust is not remote when our brethren and our countrymen will achieve our deliv-

erance." Eight Pickwick Rangers, who had fought at Shiloh, headed a great crowd and carried the Confederate flag to the river front to flaunt before the Union guns, while a fifer shrilled "Garry-owen," "Bonnie Blue Flag," and "Dixie." When Federal marksmen opened fire, a woman seized the staff and waved the flag.

Not until April 29 did the Confederate colors on City Hall drop—lowered by a strong force, with cannon, which Farragut sent ashore; not until June 7 did the Union flag fly in its place—raised to the roar of thirty-four guns in Lafayette Square by a hastily organized "Union Association of New Orleans," to give the semblance of submission by the people of a city which never surrendered.

When Benjamin F. Butler, on May 1, landed with the advance guard of his 14,000 men, the people shouted abuse at the dingy blue column marching, tense-faced, under the gleam of fixed bayonets; with personal insult they assailed the stodgy Butler as he struggled—for he had no ear for music—to keep step to the "Star Spangled Banner"; all the way to the roofless customhouse, behind the granite walls of which the force citadeled itself, they screamed the prediction that if the avenging Confederates did not drive them out, Yellow Jack would.

Butler set up martial law, a condition the Confederates had established before him. In his proclamation of May 3, he announced that his purpose was "restoring the city and state to the Union," and that he "had no intention of interfering with private rights or private property." To the *Daily Picayune* of May 4, the proclamation was a "sort of amnesty."

It was certainly a more placating attitude than might have been expected from a military conqueror whose person, whose army, and whose flag had been so grossly insulted; and who had further experienced the defiance of the people in the refusal of the personnel of the St. Charles hotel, in which he established his headquarters, to serve; in the refusal of the *Delta* to print his proclamation; and in the refusal of the mayor to call on him, though later

he grudgingly obeyed the summons and as grudgingly accepted the charge to administer the civil affairs, so far as they related to police and sanitary conditions.

Perhaps Butler was moved by sentiment—his father had served with Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. But more than that, it was to his interest, and the interest of his government, to bring about the restoration of peace as quickly and with as little friction as possible.

He faced a tremendous problem. There was no business; only grocery stores and wholesale provision establishments were open; the river front was a desolation; the commercial streets—especially Carondelet—were going into mourning as black squares blocked out the gilt letters of proud and powerful firms; every hotel was closed. The currency situation was chaotic. Before the fall of the forts, merchants had begun to refuse Confederate notes, and the banks had sent their metallic capital deep into the Confederacy, or had hidden it in the vaults of friendly consulates. There was no employment. A seven-ounce loaf of bread cost five cents; the city was sown with the dragon's teeth of want and hunger. Epidemic threatened. New Orleans was seething with plots; within striking distance hovered Confederate commands, which might consolidate into a counterattack; and Butler could spare only 2500 soldiers to garrison the city—the rest were divided between Ship Island, the river forts, Baton Rouge which had fallen to Farragut's fleet, and the outposts which thinly held the territory claimed by the Union advance.

To re-establish business, Butler encouraged merchants to import supplies, and fined those who refused to open their stores when they had something to sell. To start the flow of Louisiana's cotton and sugar to market, he promised full guarantees to all shipments from the interior, and the return of the transporting steamboats. To restore a sound circulating medium, he promised the banks protection if they brought back the metallic currency they had sent out of the city. They acquiesced, but the Secretary of the Treasury

of the Confederacy refused. Butler tried to make the Dutch and French consulates return the \$2,316,196 of coin hidden in their vaults, and earmarked to foreign accounts, some in payment for Confederate munitions; but was estopped by the ruling of the commissioner, Reverdy Johnson, whom the Federal government sent to placate the European governments, which protested such seizures, if it were possible without making concessions that were too humiliating.

Butler forbade the circulation of Confederate notes after May 27. Buying them at a discount and issuing them at par, since the suspension of specie payment the preceding September, the banks had piled up mighty profits at the expense of the people. Calling on their depositors to withdraw their accounts before the twenty-seventh, they planned to make another killing. Butler prevented that, with his order of May 19, requiring the payment of withdrawals in bills of the bank, United States treasury notes, gold or silver. He also ordered the redemption of shimplasters, or notes issued by private companies, in equally sound currency. Later in the year, one of the streetcar companies sought to repudiate its tickets, which had circulated as small change, because of counterfeiting. General Banks, Butler's successor, followed Butler's policy of supporting the many against the few, and in his order of December 28, required full redemption, though he promised additional protection against counterfeiting in the future.

Butler could give an order, and "The Union Must and Shall Be Preserved" would be deeply chiseled in the granite base of Jackson's monument; but he could not change the people of New Orleans with a word. Not that he expected a community, so many of whose sons were filling bloody trenches or graves, to become cordial, or even reconciled, overnight; but he was not prepared for the insulting and—conditions being as explosive as they were—alarming attitude that continued: for instance, the mayor's tender of "the freedom and hospitalities of the city" to visiting French warships, an assumption of sovereignty that was, as Butler said, a de-

liberate challenge to the power of the United States; the beating of persons who showed a willingness or eagerness to embrace the old allegiance; and the methods by which the women sought to keep alive the spirit of rebellion—wearing the Confederate flag in their costumes, proclaiming Confederate successes, numerous at that time, in other theaters of war, and open manifestations of scorn. Union men and officers bore it with good humor and tolerant understanding when ladies withdrew, on their entrance into a pew, to other parts of the church; when, standing on balconies, they turned their backs to approaching uniforms; and when they stepped into the streets to avoid the possibility of contact on the sidewalks. But their endurance wore thin when women screamed abuse and filth at them, and drenched them with unspeakable slops from second-story windows.² To put a stop to such outrages, and to prevent the outbreak—which would have to be quenched in blood—which their continuance made inevitable, Butler, on May 15, issued the woman order, the famous No. 28:

“As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subjected to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall, by word, gesture or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the streets plying her vocation.”

This was interpreted, for propaganda purposes, by the Confederacy, by British and French interests, and by opponents of Lincoln's policies in the North, as an open invitation to the army to help itself to rape.

Butler's order was not directed at the snubs by the ladies, but at the indecencies committed by such women as the *Daily Picayune*

² Dumping slops as an expression of disapproval seems to have been an old custom in New Orleans. The *Daily Picayune* of August 24, 1855, reports a policeman was so favored.

described on May 9—those whose “shameless conduct” on “our streets and thoroughfares” had become a “shocking nuisance,” and whose arrest it demanded, “whether arrayed in fine clothes or in rags.” In New Orleans when “women of the town” made themselves objectionable by their importunities or otherwise, they were thrown into jail for a night and fined \$5. That is the treatment which Butler said he had in mind. There is no record of any soldier who, because of Order No. 28, made what may chastely be described as a false move towards any respectable woman.

Monroe refused to carry on. Sending him and other city officials to internment camps, Butler set up a military government with Major, later General, G. F. Shepley as commandant; Captain Jonas H. French, provost marshal, acting as chief of police; and Major Joseph M. Bell, provost judge, dispensing justice from the bench. On May 20, he issued an order: “No person shall be permitted to insult or interfere with any officer or soldier in the discharge of his duty. No person hereafter will be permitted to denounce or threaten with personal violence any citizen of the United States for the expression of Union and loyal sentiments.” Then he began to crack down.

He might have pardoned Mumford, condemned to death by the provost court for desecrating the United States flag, the only one of the four caught, had he not believed that mercy would be construed as fear. A few days before, he had commuted the death sentence of six parole-breaking members of the Monroe Guards, and won the commendation of the *Daily Picayune*, June 5: “The clemency of General Butler was wise and judicious, and will, we doubt not, be gratifying to the community.” Their plea was that parole was for gentlemen, and they were not gentlemen. Butler saw them as victims of the system against which he was struggling—the power of the “aristocrats,” who, he believed, had brought on the war and were responsible for the intransigence in New Orleans. Mumford’s offense, to him, symbolized that spirit. So he closed his

heart to the pleadings of the man's wife and children, and of the Union men who urged clemency, and ordered the execution on the sixth. The infantry and cavalry which faced the huge, silent crowd in front of the mint that morning symbolized the inexorable military enforcements which Butler would thenceforth exact.³

On June 10 he required the oath of allegiance to the United States from all who exercised public authority of any kind, or asked any favors of the government beyond police protection; on July 11 he prohibited the assembly of more than three persons in the streets or public squares; on August 16 he disarmed the rebellious population, confiscating six thousand weapons of all kinds—even fencing foils and ceremonial swords—for information about which he paid from \$3, for bowie knives, to \$10, for guns.

This put most of the civil population at the mercy of Negroes who were threatening to get out of hand. Father Claude Pascal Maistre, pastor of St. Rose de Lima church, openly incited the blacks against the whites. There were uprisings on a number of plantations, with more or less violence. Bands of ex-slaves roved through the city, committing robberies, and insulting whites. As early as July 18, the *Daily Picayune* reported that "The Federal soldiers are beginning to complain of the impudent airs which the spoiled negroes are beginning to put on."

Resistance continued. Mrs. Anna Larue, wife of a gambler, almost caused a riot in front of the St. Charles hotel, July 10, by displaying the Confederate flag, reviling Union soldiers, and prophesying victory for Jefferson Davis. "A flagmania seems to have taken possession of quite a number of the inhabitants of New Orleans, particularly of the gentler sex," chronicled the *Daily Picayune* ten days later. "Finding it dangerous to exhibit Confederate flags, either on houses, in bonnets or on bosoms, it has now become quite common to abuse those who exhibit a preference for the old star-spangled banner." A shopkeeper put a skeleton, placarded

³ The *Daily Picayune* on July 30, 1876, printed nearly a column of bitter verse on the hanging of Mumford.

"Chickahominy" in his show window; a man exhibited a cross which, he gloatingly asserted, had been carved from the bone of a Yankee; the funeral procession of a young lieutenant was greeted with laughter.

Butler increased the pressure, multiplied the arrests. To ask a policeman how many times he had taken the oath, was to incur a fine of \$10, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on July 29. Butler imprisoned Father Napoleon Joseph Perché, editor of *Le Propagateur Catholique* in his own house, and suppressed that organ because of its secessionist policies; he closed several Protestant churches because the ministers refused to offer up the prayer for the President of the United States. But Father James Ignatius Mullan, pastor of St. Patrick's church, defied him with so much spirit that Butler allowed the fiery Irishman to conduct services as he wished.

The Confiscation Act, passed by Congress July 17, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, effective January 1, 1863, gave Butler a new club. The former confiscated the property of Confederates who held civil or military office, but gave all others sixty days within which to return to the allegiance of the United States and save their property. The latter was not a general liberation of slaves, but was another expression of the confiscation policy, for it withheld freedom from Negroes belonging to loyal Unionists in the Southern territory which the Federals had brought under their power.

Nowhere in the South were the confiscation laws more rigidly applied. Butler seized \$245,760 of the Confederate government funds, on deposit in the banks, and shipped about four hundred church and plantation bells—some dating back as far as 1775—which Southerners had sent to New Orleans to be cast into cannon, to the North, where they were sold for \$30,000. He had already seized the homes of General D. E. Twiggs and John Slidell, and established his residence in the former. Under the new order he seized real estate, money, securities, furniture, horses, works of art, commodities, table silver, personal jewelry, even clothes. At the

auctions, where the property was sold for the account of the United States, large values were knocked down, to speculators, for a percentage of their worth.

In August he laid a levy of \$312,176 against the two-hundred-odd businessmen who had subscribed \$1,250,865 to the Confederate war chest, and \$29,200 against the cotton brokers who had advocated the freezing of the cotton movement in the hope of precipitating foreign intervention. In December he repeated that assessment. His purpose was twofold: to feed the destitute when the Confederate Free Market collapsed; and to weaken the power of the classes.

Butler revived and expanded the relief system. By the end of the year, it included about a quarter of the population. During a typical week, 10,541 families of 34,200 persons received food from the government. Of these, 1724 were the kin of Federal soldiers, 979 of Confederate soldiers, 7838 were unrelated to the men in either military establishment. This relief system continued throughout the war. Butler's successor in 1863 reported that the Federal government was supporting 24,000 persons and ten orphanages in New Orleans.

Theoretically, the emancipation proclamation kept 87,000 Negroes in slavery in Louisiana, the property of loyal Unionists or foreigners; but Butler applied its principles so thoroughly—invoking the laws of foreign countries which forbade the possession of slaves by their subjects anywhere in the world, against British and French residents who had aided the Confederacy—that all but about 7000 slaves, owned by Union men of unquestioned loyalty, were freed.

He operated confiscated sugar plantations with liberated slaves on a day's-wage basis.

"Landing with a military chest containing but seventy-five dollars," Butler boasted in his farewell address to the army December 15, "from the hoards of a rebel government, you have given to your country's treasury nearly a half-million dollars, and so supplied

yourselves with the needs of your service that your expedition has cost your government less by four-fifths than any other."

The total losses to the people were a great deal larger than that. The fact that the United States Relief Commission was supporting more than five times as many persons as the old Free Market, shows what the losses and seizures meant. "Many who, twelve months ago, were rich in this world's goods," commented the *Daily Picayune* on November 1, "now experience comparative poverty's keen pinches; many, then not wealthy but in comfortable circumstances, are now but little removed from absolute want; the then really poor are now almost—in some cases, alas—entirely destitute."

It has been asserted that Butler and his brother, A. J. Butler, enriched themselves by vast stealings. In New Orleans, the general is still called "Spoon Butler" when he is not called "Beast Butler." There is no doubt about the corruption and graft and thefts by his agents, and those who represented themselves to be the agents of the government. Many were detected and punished. The two Butlers may have been equally guilty; but—excellent businessmen, with much capital and more credit—they could have grown rich by legal means: for with turpentine \$3 in New Orleans and \$38 in New York, sugar 3 cents a pound in New Orleans and 6 in New York, flour \$6 a barrel in New York and \$25 in New Orleans, dry-goods almost at prewar prices in New York and several hundred per cent higher in New Orleans, the situation was made-to-order for the speculator when the port was opened in June. Exchange rates added to the enormous profits; so did the auctions. There are always profiteers to fatten on the life savings of the victims of war, which is monstrous in all its manifestations. The basic wealth was not destroyed; it changed hands. New Orleans' assessment rolls as of November, 1862, showed a total of \$121,705,265, as compared with \$124,174,403 the year before. Individuals who stole, robbed their own government, not the New Orleans victims, for the law had already stripped them.

By December, more than 61,000 Orleanians had taken the oath of allegiance. The *Daily Picayune* was to say editorially on January 25, 1863, "There can be no peace, and will be none, until this furious, Bedouin spirit gives place to more rational and liberal views." But there were many who spurned even the outward semblance of submission. They had never surrendered, they never would surrender—neither they, nor their children, nor their children's children. Some asked permission to leave the city for Secesia, as Confederate territory was called. Butler granted it. Better to risk what they might do in the ranks of the enemy than in his own stronghold. Others remained, to foment unrest, and bring punishment upon themselves and their community.

Even his bitterest enemies had praise for Butler's sanitation work. "He was the best scavenger we have ever had," furiously admits Marion Southwood, who attacks him on every other front. The only time the streets had ever been as clean was "just after the memorable epidemic of 1853," said the *Daily Picayune* on November 13.

In a city without sewerage or drainage systems even remotely suggesting modern facilities, ceaseless vigilance and continuous effort were necessary to maintain even the poor health conditions that were then possible. Under the pressure of war, sanitation was neglected. Uncleaned for months, the streets, the gutters, and the canals were a loathsome reek. The air was "poisoned," said the *Daily Picayune*, May 11; on the twenty-seventh, it described "standing pools of feculent filth" and "streets in which it is absolutely noisome and sickening to walk"; and on the thirtieth, the "thick and foul scum" which exhaled its pestilential vapors from the gutters. Everyone knew what such conditions boded if yellow fever invaded New Orleans from Havana or Nassau, where it was going great guns.

Butler enforced quarantine and fumigation regulations at the mouth of the river; he organized an army of sanitation, which

scraped and broomed and cleaned the city from one end to the other; he flushed the filthy gutters; he restored the flow that was possible in canals through such a flat country.

One case of yellow fever appeared in New Orleans—a victim who brought the infection from Nassau. He was isolated, and the disease did not spread. If it had, New Orleans would probably have been a worse pest house than in 1853, for the city was much larger, and contained more unacclimated persons—Unionists fresh from the North. In 1853 the mortality from yellow fever was one in ten of total population, one in four of those who were susceptible. The Great Plague of London of 1665 killed only one in thirteen. Butler reported on October 1 that the total death rate showed New Orleans “to be the most healthy city in the United States.”⁴

Butler also did much work along the river. When the Mississippi crevassed, May 24, in the Berlin, or General Pershing, street section, and engulfed the large spread of vegetable gardens there, he rebuilt the levee. He also built up part of the river front with batture sand—adding \$1,000,000 in real estate values to the city, according to his own estimate.

Business began to struggle back. By September 14, flour had dropped to \$6 a barrel. Exports were bringing in money. On December 5, the St. Charles hotel reopened. The city's schools were reorganized, after the Boston system, with teachers' salaries ranging from \$600 to \$2000 a year. New Orleans elected two members to Congress—Benjamin F. Flanders and Michael Hahn, both Union men—by the vote of those who had taken the oath of al-

⁴ The assertion that Butler kept yellow fever out of New Orleans, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 10, 1879, is “inane trash.” Continuing: “It is true that there was very little yellow fever here in 1862. It is also true that there was very little or no yellow fever in 1859, 1860 or 1861. It is true, moreover, that there was little or no yellow fever in 1863, 1864, 1865 or 1866. If Butler's presence kept it away in 1862, perhaps his absence excluded it in the other years mentioned. The concurrence of clean streets and the absence of yellow fever proves nothing. The disease has raged violently in cities just as clean as New Orleans was in 1862—as at Gibraltar in 1804, at Vera Cruz in 1847, at Mobile in 1855, and at Nassau on several occasions. On the other hand, it has been conspicuously absent from places which it is in the habit of attacking, at times when those places have been notoriously in a bad sanitary condition.”

legiance, but that vote was greater by one thousand than the vote for secession, a fact which reflected the growth of Union sentiment. Butler began to plan the roofing of the customhouse.

He was superseded by General Nathaniel P. Banks, who reached New Orleans, December 14. Butler was given a tremendous ovation at good-bye ceremonies on December 23, the day on which Jefferson Davis, in Richmond, branded him an "outlaw and common enemy of mankind," and ordered his immediate hanging by any Confederate force that might capture him.⁵

Banks was received like manna. He was a Yankee, but he was not Butler. By calling off property sales, rescinding the church orders, and releasing prisoners, he "tried his utmost to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants of the city," to quote Marion Southwood. But he, too, experienced the temper of the people he was sent to govern, in the pocket-handkerchief war.

On February 20 a large crowd, principally women and children, went to the steamboat landing to bid good-bye to Southerners who preferred hunger and danger in Confederate territory to plenty and humiliation under Union power. There was much running to and fro, there were many cries of encouragement, there were many shouts of defiance. And there was a great waving of handkerchiefs. Federal officers ordered the crowd to stop the demonstration. This inspired the women to put on a real show. The soldiers presented bayonets; the women laughed, even the soldiers grinned. It was a situation for which military textbooks proposed no formula. The best the soldiers could do was to brace themselves and shove and hope the women would tire before the soldiers themselves gave up, or that the boat would end the crisis by pulling out.

⁵ A play entitled *The Confederate's Daughter, or The Tyrant of New Orleans* reflected the feelings of the English people about Butler. The *Daily Picayune* on October 10, 1865, reprinted the New York *Tribune's* description of it. Butler was represented as having a criminal past, and as having equally nefarious schemes about the virtue of a Confederate girl. Her honor is saved after a heroic struggle in the Federal stronghold, which resembled the Bastille and stood on the bank of the Mississippi within sight of the "lower cataracts" of the river. As the din of battle dies, a courier arrives from Washington with orders cashiering the "tyrant of New Orleans."

The struggle was immortalized in doggerel, which for many years delighted the South. The joyful irony of "The Pocket Handkerchief War" appears in all its detail in *Beauty and Booty*. Here is a typical stanza, which shows New Orleans still defiant, in spite of all it had been through:

That night, released from all our toils,
Our dangers past and gone,
We gladly gathered up the spoils
Our chivalry had won!
Five hundred 'kerchiefs we had snatched
From Rebel ladies' hands,
Ten parasols, two shoes (not matched),
Some ribbons, belts and bands,
And other things that I forgòt;
But then you'll find them all
As trophies in that hallowed spot—
The cradle—Faneuil Hall!

Conquest

IN TEN gunboats, Farragut carried Union conquest up the Mississippi after Butler occupied New Orleans. Baton Rouge and Natchez fell like ripe plums; but Vicksburg, on its two-hundred-foot cliffs, defied him. Reinforced by a powerful fleet from Memphis, he attacked, from May 26 to July 27, 1862, with 35 vessels; their 300 guns dumped 25,000 shells upon the city, but could not breach the 29-gun defense on the river front. That long bombardment killed and wounded 22 men in the batteries, 2 in the city; it did not dismount a single cannon.

The monotony of the struggle was relieved by the spectacular dash of the "Arkansas," an ironclad ram 180 feet long, mounting 10 guns, which the Confederates built on the Yazoo river. Through the Federal fleet it steamed on July 15. Each ship moved in a fog of its own making, for no wind dissipated the battle smoke; the cannoneers pointed their pieces by the gun flashes, nearly every shot point-blank. The heavy balls rolled from the railroad-iron sides of the "Arkansas" like acorns down a tin roof; but the ram's discharges thudded deep into the wooden hulls. One Federal vessel exploded, another burst into flames, a third was driven aground. The "Arkansas" anchored under the guns of Vicksburg, its smoke-stack destroyed by the iron pounding, the temperature in its engine room 130 degrees.

Out of Vicksburg marched General John C. Breckinridge,

former Vice-President of the United States, with 5000 men, against Baton Rouge. This was to be the first step in the campaign to win back New Orleans. He expected to be supported by the "Arkansas." Sickness so far depleted his ranks that when he began the battle in the dawn of August 5, he had only 2600 men. He drove the Federals back to the river, where they rested under the protection of their gunboats. Anxiously he awaited the appearance of the "Arkansas." But five miles upstream, she drifted helplessly, her machinery broken down; and to keep her from falling into enemy hands, her commander blew her up. Breckinridge fell back, and strengthened the defenses of Port Hudson, about twenty-two miles above Baton Rouge.

General Richard Taylor, son of President Zachary Taylor, transferred from his command in Virginia, took charge of Confederate operations in Louisiana. He opened his campaign with an attack on the Federal entrenchments at Bayou des Allemands. In October he sent an expedition to Labadieville, and checked the advance of General Godfrey Weitzel in the Lafourche country.

General Banks in March, 1863, concentrated about 25,000 men at Baton Rouge, to support a movement by Farragut to open the river between Vicksburg and the heavily fortified Port Hudson. One of the most vivid flashes of local reporting, at the time, appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on March 22—the description of the loss of the Federal steam frigate "Mississippi" in that successful operation.

"The 'Mississippi' was the last in the line of the fleet which attempted the passage of the batteries on the night of March 14," says the report. Those batteries, by the way, were spread over three and a half miles of river front. "When she was at a point nearly in the center of the range of batteries, the smoke and steam from the boats in advance, and from the batteries on shore, so enveloped the ship that her pilot lost his bearings, and the frigate grounded on the right side of the river.

"For forty minutes, she was exposed to a terrible fire from all

the batteries. During this time, she fired two hundred and fifty rounds; but her guns, one after another, were nearly all dismounted; her portholes on the starboard side were knocked into one; twenty-five or thirty men were killed; four men were wounded; she was riddled through and through with shot; there was no prospect of her ever floating again; and at last, in the utter hopelessness of the case, Captain Smith gave the order for her abandonment."

Some of the crew jumped into the river and swam ashore; others entered the small boats, carrying the wounded with them, and retired in good order. The officers set fire to the ship, which became a pyre for their dead comrades, and rowed to the "Essex." When the flames reached the magazine, the "Mississippi" blew up with a "tremendous explosion." The men who went ashore walked down the river towards Baton Rouge. They met Confederates, who took the wounded into their homes and ministered to their hurts.

From Baton Rouge, Banks marched into the Teche country with 20,000 men, and steadily forced back Taylor and his 3000, in savage fighting. Capturing Alexandria, which had been Taylor's headquarters, Banks's troops occupied that city until May 13, when the general began concentrating his power for an assault upon Port Hudson; for General Grant, put in charge of the Department of the Mississippi the preceding November, had begun an enormous investment of Vicksburg.

On May 27 and June 14, Banks, supported by Farragut, attacked Port Hudson, but was driven back with heavy losses. He began siege operations. Vicksburg fell to Grant on Saturday, July 4, 1863; and on the eighth, Port Hudson, no longer tenable, surrendered to Banks.

Five days passed before New Orleans learned of this. As late as July 12, the *Daily Picayune* printed reports, dated June 25, that "all is well" in Vicksburg, with "food in abundance . . . soldiers satisfied . . . gay ladies promenading the streets of the beleaguered city, making stepping stones of bursted shells." New Orleans cele-

brated the Independence anniversary with some enthusiasm, as the *Daily Picayune* related. Cannon roared at sunrise, noon, and sunset; church bells sounded "tintinnabulary salutes"; an orator held forth in the First Presbyterian church; a huge crowd gathered in front of the customhouse that night to listen to spellbinders.

On July 9, the *Daily Picayune*, in a twelve-line story, said: "We are authorized to announce that on the morning of the 4th inst., the garrison of Vicksburg, numbering twenty-seven thousand men, with one hundred and eight pieces of field artillery and eighty siege guns, surrendered to Gen. Grant upon terms which have not transpired.

"The stores found in the place other than the guns mentioned were inconsiderable.

"One hundred guns will be fired this A.M., by order of General Emory, in honor of the victory."

Two days later, the *Daily Picayune* reported the fall of Port Hudson—5000 men and 50 guns. "The garrison had eaten its last mule," it said.

New Orleans—that is, the Union element—celebrated on the eleventh. The *Daily Picayune* thus describes the jubilation: "There was quite an outpouring on our streets last night in consequence of the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. A congratulatory address was delivered on Canal street by T. J. Durant, Esq.; houses were illuminated in various portions of the city, and a procession was formed, which passed through a number of our principal streets."

That same day, the *Daily Picayune* issued an extra announcing the Battle of Gettysburg, July 3; but it was not until the fourteenth that in three columns of reprint from New York journals, it could present the full picture of General Robert E. Lee's defeat. There was no longer any doubt that the South had lost the war: only a desperate hope would carry the fight further.

It was at this time of intense war excitement that the *Daily Picayune* ran nearly a column editorial—July 12—on the growing "mania" for collecting postage stamps.

In the last weeks of the Vicksburg campaign, Taylor, operating from his re-established headquarters in Alexandria, captured 1700 Federal soldiers, twelve guns, and an enormous volume of supplies at Berwick's Bay; mounted twelve guns on the Mississippi below Donaldsonville; and pushed his scouts down to a point opposite Kenner, sixteen miles above New Orleans. He had recovered the Lafourche, Teche, Attakapas and Opelousas country, and was planning an attack on New Orleans, when he learned that Vicksburg and Port Hudson had surrendered. This made his position precarious. After an engagement, July 13, in which 1400 Confederates drove back 6000 Federals, at Donaldsonville, Taylor withdrew up the Teche.

Banks, in March, 1864, began a formidable campaign up the Red River Valley—his purpose to stop the running of supplies down that stream, to subdue Confederate Louisiana, and to erect a stop-look-listen sign in front of Napoleon III, whose armies were smashing from victory to victory in his plan to erect the Maximilian empire in Mexico, and whose intrigues were reaching into Texas. Up the valley General Banks led an army which was steadily reinforced until it included 28,000 men; and Admiral D. D. Porter accompanied him on the river with sixty-five ironclads, gunboats and transports. The drive swept to Natchitoches, and concentrated against Shreveport, the capital of Confederate Louisiana. Ending his retreat of more than 200 miles, Taylor made a stand at Mansfield, 40 miles away. He had only 8800 men, but the Federal column was spread along 20 miles of road. The battle of April 8 not only resulted in a defeat to Banks, with a loss of more than 2000 men, but it also ended the Red river campaign. Only 20 miles from Shreveport, the fleet was forced to turn back when the army began its retreat.

Confederate forces hung upon the flanks of the army, slashing with lead fangs; from the leafy banks of the river they blasted death across the decks of Porter's gunboats. They captured one, destroyed or badly damaged several others. Because of the difficul-

ties of the channel, and the fierceness of the fighting, the fleet could make only thirty miles a day. Had the Confederates been able to bring artillery to bear, they might have destroyed the fleet.

On the "Osage," which protected the rear and received some of the heaviest attacks, the periscope entered the science of war. It was the invention of Thomas Doughty, engineer of that gunboat, and a famous steamboatman from the Upper Mississippi. He wondered if some means could not be found to keep Union gunners under cover when they aimed their pieces; and solved the problem with a section of three-inch steam pipe, into the ends of which he cut holes, at opposite sides, and mounted mirrors, on an angle, at the openings.

"This instrument was the first of its kind ever used on a war vessel," says Rear Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, who commanded the "Osage." One day, three thousand dismounted cavalry, under General Thomas Green, attacked the "Osage" when she was hard aground. Selfridge continues: Because of the low stage of the river and the high banks, "the Confederates could not be seen until the head of their advancing column appeared above the river bank. A fierce fire swept the deck of the monitor as the enemy, coming up in column of regiments, would fire one volley and fall back. Standing in the turret, I could see in the reflector of the periscope their advancing line as it appeared over the bank. Cutting the fuses of the 11-inch shrapnel to a half-second, and with the elevation of the gun to clear the edge of the bank, I reserved our fire till their heads were in sight (in the periscope) and then let drive. This singular fight was kept up for an hour before the Confederates retired with a loss of 400 killed and wounded, including General Green, who was killed." ¹

At Alexandria, it seemed that the fleet must be abandoned, for there was not enough water to float it across the falls. Colonel Joseph Bailey, acting engineer of the Nineteenth Army Corps, met the challenge with a series of dams which raised the water level

¹ Charles Edward Russell, *A-Rafting on the Mississippi* (New York, 1928), 150-51.

enough for the boats to scrape through; and Porter and Banks returned with their forces to New Orleans. They ventured on no more campaigns in Louisiana. Taylor succeeded the bishop-soldier, General Leonidas Polk, killed in action June 14, as commander of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. Only once more did the alarms of war shake New Orleans.

That was on April 24, 1865, after the war had ended, when the Confederate ram, "Webb," loaded with cotton for protection and profit, on a dash for the open sea, steamed through the Union fleet in front of New Orleans, sustaining the fire of nine guns, and easily outfooting the three vessels which took up the pursuit. She would have won free had she not met the sloop-of-war "Richmond" twenty-four miles below the city. Her commander beached the "Webb" and set her afire. Of the crew of forty-five, only one man and a boy were captured by the Federal vessel. The 217 bales of cotton were destroyed.

Diplomacy

CONDUCTING a Southern newspaper in New Orleans during the frenzy of the Butler period, May 1 to December 14, 1862, called for the skill of a tightrope walker crossing Niagara. To print the reports of Confederate successes might invoke suspension, and so deprive the community of a public advocate. New Orleans was under martial law, and the conquerors, by arrest, confiscation and persecution, were trying to break the spirit of the city which never surrendered. Not to print the victories, or to print matter too favorable to the Union side, either there or elsewhere, might alienate the subscribers, a sensitive, suspicious people, and so destroy the paper. Then there was the problem of revenue, for the paralysis of business and the appalling destruction of property, to say nothing about the theft of the *Daily Picayune's* supply of newsprint during the outburst of looting after the Confederate defeat, had shrunk publication to two pages, and advertising to seven columns. On sincerity of effort, honesty of purpose, and courage of performance, would depend the result.

Unable to hold a course between Scylla and Charybdis, the *Delta* went under the operation of Butler, who installed his own editors and published a Union organ. Several other papers were suspended, but were allowed to resume, under a promise to be good, when it was represented to the general that to close them would increase unemployment. The *Daily Picayune* itself was sup-

pressed on August 1, 1862, because of a reference to the Union general, Pope, campaigning in Virginia; but was allowed to resume next day, when the editor printed an apology, saying that the offending article had been "written for us by a contributor not attached to the office, during the absence, from disability, of the regular writer of that column." Commenting on Pope's announced plan to exact contributions from the territory in which he operated, the article said the general should show "his purpose and heroism by acts rather than by high-sounding proclamations." This illustrates how fine the editor's judgment had to be.

The *Daily Picayune's* excellent news service—telegraph and mail—went by the board, because of the breakdown of mail facilities, censorship, and failing finances. "We are anxious to lay before our readers the latest news from all quarters," the editor confessed November 29, "but in the present state of our communications with the outside world, we have no means of obtaining intelligence other than by a steamship from New York—and the arrivals from that port are few and far between—or by the friendly thoughtfulness of those who bring to the city or receive late papers, and furnish us therewith for our use and the information of the public." Clipped from other papers, the war news was a week to ten days old, but it had a fresh and passionate interest for isolated New Orleans, for all the Confederate successes were duly reported, though without color.

At times, the *Daily Picayune* ran close to the limits of censorship. For instance, the printing of Governor Moore's patriotic appeal on July 1; the five-line reference to the first Battle of Bull Run on July 18, the anniversary; and the comment of December 18 on the permitted departure of unreconstructed Orleanians: "About five hundred of the old residents of the city leave us to-morrow for the other side of the lines. They go from a place of plenty to a region in which it is said that famine, almost, prevails—where wheat flour can not be obtained at any price—where coffee is \$2 per pound and salt \$50 per bushel. And why do they go under these circum-

stances? The question is one which those in authority should ponder well. It seems exceedingly strange that men and women should voluntarily exchange peace and plenty for war and famine."

It opened itself to resentment from its own people when it attacked war propaganda, which it called, in the stately journalese of the day, "slievegammonism," a reference to the enormous claims about the gathering of power on the hillside of Slievegammon during the Young Ireland troubles of 1848. The article was a reprint from the Richmond *Whig*, but the *Daily Picayune* made the sentiments its own in the issue of April 30: "Why the reporting of a battle by telegraph, by letter, or by word of mouth should deprive a man of every particle of common sense, of every spark of principle, we know not. But the fact is so. A battle is no sooner begun than we are notified by a 'reliable' dispatch that the 'whole army of the enemy will be killed or captured.' This we heard in regard to Donelson, Elkhorn, Shiloh and nearly every battle which has been fought. It has been claimed that the people of the North are liars, and that we of the South are truthful. This is a delusion. We are fast learning to tell as many lies, as big lies, as foolish and self-evident lies, as the enemy."

At the time when prejudice and hatred obscured reason, the *Daily Picayune's* reprinting, July 31, of General Butler's defense of the woman order in the Boston *Journal* on the second, showed a courageous stand for fair play. "The devil had entered the hearts of the women of this town," wrote the general, and went on to say that if these "she-adders" had not been "tamed," they would have precipitated "disturbances and riot, from which we must clear the streets with artillery." So he classified "these bejeweled, becrinolined and laced creatures, calling themselves ladies" who insulted and reviled Union soldiers, as "women of the town plying their vocation" who were to be ignored by "gentlemen" until their actions became a "continuous and positive nuisance," when they were to be arrested.

During these discouraging days, the *Daily Picayune* kept its sense

of humor bright. In commenting, July 11, on the flaxseed bread "on which the soundest teeth could make no more impression . . . than on a piece of India rubber," it dismissed the aching subject with this smile: "One of the purchasers scooped out two of the loaves and has ever since been wearing them instead of shoes." Virginia whisky, according to the issue of April 30, was so potent that when spilled upon the streets of Richmond, it "split the cobble stones for a quarter of a mile, and produced a sound like repeated claps of thunder." The same cheerful spirit saw the breaking of the ice famine in the fall of hail "larger than cherries" in Carrollton, May 12; and when the ice ships finally came up the river, recorded: "We saw yesterday, circulating through our streets, well laden ice carts, wheelbarrows full of ice, people carrying buckets of ice, and ice dumped in large cakes at different doors along the principal streets and thoroughfares." And added, ecstatically: "Juleps and cobblers!" By the same optimist, the ending of the long days of hunger was epitomized, July 27, in the note about the relief of the pompano shortage.

With the restoration of a solid currency, and the reopening of the port to trade, there was a revival of business. This brought a playful complaint, September 18, that old customs and old methods were passing, in that "Coal oil and coal oil lamps are sold in crockery and apothecary stores; corn and whisky are sold in hardware stores; flour and bacon are sold in drygoods stores."

The *Daily Picayune* reflected the improvement in business. By June 12 it was printing four pages regularly, and from time to time put out its afternoon issue. On occasion, it enlarged to six pages. By the end of the year, it was presenting eighteen to twenty columns of advertising a day.

We note that those who believed in the artificial invocation of the bright semblance of youth found the stores stocked with hair dyes; that such personal blandishments as Barry's Tricopherous were again available to those who could remember that formidable name; and that for those who craved more than surface seeming,

"Dr. Wright's celebrated Rejuvenating Elixir" was guaranteed to cure "general debility, mental and physical depression, imbecility, determination of blood to the head, confused ideas, hysteria, general irritability, restlessness and sleeplessness at night, absence of muscular efficiency, loss of appetite, dyspepsia, emaciation, low spirits, palpitation of the heart, disorganization or paralysis of the organs of generation." For those whose system needed toning, there was exciting promise in "Price's Texas Tonic," which "passes down the throat with the tortuous sinuosity of a screw auger" and cleans out "all sorts of perilous stuff that weighs upon the spleen."

Moody's store at Canal and Royal streets in June put on a "great sacrifice, enormous sacrifice, terrible sacrifice, cruel sacrifice" of men's furnishings. From the listing, presented with an astonishing restraint after that blast, in small type, one-column measure, we learn that \$6 linen shirts were marked down to \$4.50; \$3.50 muslin ditto were cut to \$2.50; \$3 lisle undershirts were only \$2; \$2 suspenders were a pick-up at \$1.25; \$3 umbrellas were lowered to \$2; and silk socks, originally priced at \$21 a dozen, were going for a mere \$12.

Through the local columns of those old papers, as through a window, we get many interesting glimpses.

We share the joy of the unreconstructed Southerners who watched the Union soldiers solemnly marching about their camps, clad in whisky barrels. No Gilbert and Sullivan producer ever conceived a more fantastic garb than did the officer who thought of this punishment for exceeding military seemliness in the partaking of red-eye.

We wonder why the *Daily Picayune* waited until May 14 to report that a prominent judge had killed an equally prominent physician in the Boston Club twelve days before, until we learn that the coroner's jury had waited until the thirteenth to bring in the charge of murder. "The accused is out of the city." Was action delayed to make that possible, or in the hope that he might return?

We share the stunned amazement that must have assailed the

upholders of the code when they read that on June 12, Mr. Charles Ducros had been fined a dime for challenging Mr. H. M. Crooks to a duel, and that Mr. Crooks had been fined a dime for accepting the challenge—all this by the Yankee provost court. There never had been a greater cause for a duel, as New Orleans appraised causes. Mr. Ducros had made what is known as a pass at Mrs. Crooks; Mr. Crooks had resented that with a slap; whereupon, both had made incontinent preparations for the field of honor. Then Yankee law interfered. The judge was inclined to clap both gentlemen into jail, but voluble explanations about local observances made him withdraw from that position, and he compromised with the dignity of the law on the dime basis, with the proviso that the two men should shake hands. They did so. Mr. Ducros emphasized the sincerity of his apology by admitting that he was drunk. The judge then fined him \$20 for making the pass in such a condition, and everybody was happy.

And we regret, as no doubt everybody else did, that the *Daily Picayune* was “unable to give further particulars,” on September 11, about the formal duel which two free Negroes fought because of a difference of opinion about the war—one of them was fatally wounded.

We have a realizing sense of how close the country was to its national beginnings, in the *Daily Picayune*’s two-and-a-half-inch story, September 16, of the death of the slave Sargy at the age of 117. She was “old enough to perform the duties of a nurse” when Braddock met his defeat.

We realize, too, how small was the United States, which was fighting this mighty war, in the outline of a plan, presented September 6, to save the government \$36,000 a year by using postage stamps until they wore out, instead of canceling them. Envelopes were to be made with pockets, in which the letter writer would put the stamp, and from which the postal clerk would take it.

For those interested in the drama, General Butler’s order—as a public measure—that the amusement houses keep open in the sum-

mer, brought a revival of the *Daily Picayune's* theatrical column, in which were reported, not only the doings of the local stage, but the fortunes of thespians throughout the country, and in Europe as well. The Poydras Street theater, formerly the Concert Hall, at Poydras and Carondelet streets, on May 9 presented *The Idiot Witness, or A Tale of Blood*. Later, the Academy of Music opened with a Burlesque Opera Troupe, and the Varieties with Christie's Minstrels. In the fall, horse racing returned to the Fair Grounds—in amateur form.

No doubt the editor's thanks, October 16, to "our ever kind friend Susie" for a bunch of bananas raised in her own garden, stirred up horticultural emulation then, as it would now.

We see how far New Orleans has progressed since the daring prophecy by the *Daily Picayune* on November 13. In reference to Butler's sanitary measures, which prevented a yellow fever epidemic, it said: "When the swamps are drained, as they will be ere long, if the drainage boards do their duty faithfully, a proper system of sewerage is secured, and all the streets square-blocked [surfaced with stone blocks], we do not see why New Orleans may not become as clean a city as there is in America or Europe." No doubt the cynical said then, as they do now, "It can't be done!" But the swamps have been drained, far beyond the metes and bounds of that visionary's dream; and today, we are pushing the drainage-reclamation idea still further afield.

Suppression

“AFTER ALL,” said the *Daily Picayune* in an editorial on January 11, 1863, “the citizens of New Orleans may thank their stars that they are as well off as they are”; and added, “the government, though essentially military, is liberal.”

That was the spirit of optimism, of conciliation and of realism with which it met the problems of reconstruction, after Federal power was re-established in New Orleans; that was to be its policy, even when it denounced the wrongs and iniquities, during the fourteen terrible years that passed before the government of Louisiana was restored to the people of that state. “There can be no peace, and will be none, until this furious, Bedouin spirit gives way to more rational and liberal views,” it said on the twenty-fifth, in reference to the resistance to authority. On June 23, 1865, it would make this revealing summation: “The city administration, whilst in the hands of strangers to our city and military commanders, has been more prudently, efficiently and cheaply conducted than it has been for many years, whilst managed by the favorites of the people,” who were the “easy and rich prey of a large class of small politicians.”

On March 26, 1863, the *Daily Picayune* denounced the formation of “secret political clubs,” a development that had no place “in a free country”; and on May 17, it referred sorrowfully to those “whose faith in the Confederacy could not be shaken by the power

or softened by the clemency of the old government." After Lincoln held out the arms of amnesty, it urged, on February 19, 1864, "the duty of our old citizens to resume at once their business in this city" and to "qualify themselves as citizens."

Many there were who would not heed the advice. Hence the expulsion laws, hence the ferreting out of Confederate sentiments, expressed in even the most innocent form. Union agents raided schools, confiscated Southern music, and fined teachers who allowed their pupils to draw Confederate flags in their copy books. On February 22, 1863, the *Daily Picayune* reported the arrest of a Negro woman for singing a song commencing with the words, "Jeff Davis is a gentleman"; on April 28, a Negro man for playing plantation airs; and on September 1, a white man for ordering a "stonewall" at one of the city's bars, thereby incurring the suspicion of honoring a certain dead Confederate general,¹ until he explained to the judge, in technical detail, the difference between a "stonewall" and a "stone fence," potent and delightful beverages both. The hysteria which possessed both sides took a more serious direction on the night of April 23 at the performance of *Richelieu* in the Varieties theater, when chip-on-the-shoulder Unionists noisily insisted that the orchestra play "Hail Columbia," though the military mayor had ordered that no political music be played at such gatherings.

Despite its broad policy and careful editing, the *Daily Picayune* was suppressed. The punishment fell, not for presenting Confederate propaganda, but for reprinting an article from a Northern source.

In an extra dated 8 P.M., May 23, 1864, a single sheet measuring 11 by 16½ inches and printed on one side, it picked up, from the *Cairo News Extra* of the eighteenth, what appeared to be a procla-

¹ At the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861, the brigade of General B. E. Bee was being forced back. He snatched the men from panic with the inspired shout, "Look! There is Jackson's brigade standing behind you like a stone wall." General T. J. Jackson was known ever afterwards as Stonewall, and that brigade as the Stonewall Brigade.

mation by President Lincoln, as copied from the New York *World*. The pretended document was as follows:

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, MAY 17, 1864.

“FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

“In all seasons and exigencies, it becomes a nation carefully to scrutinize its line of conduct, and humbly to approach the Throne of God, and meekly implore forgiveness, wisdom and guidance. For reasons known only to Him, it has been decided that this country should be the scene of unparalleled outrage, and this nation the monumental sufferer of the nineteenth century. With heavy heart, but undiminished confidence in our cause, I approach the performance of a duty rendered imperative by my sense of weakness before the Almighty, and of justice to the people. It is not necessary that I should tell you that the first Virginia campaign under Lieutenant-General Grant, in whom I have every confidence, and whose courage and fidelity the people do well to honor, is virtually closed; he has conducted his enterprise with discreet ability; he has crippled their strength and defeated their plans. In view, however, of the situation in Virginia, and the disaster at Red River, the delay at Charleston and the general state of the country, I, Abraham Lincoln, do hereby recommend that Thursday, the 26th day of May, 1864, be solemnly set apart throughout the United States as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Deeming, furthermore, that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, and in view of the power vested in me by the Constitution and laws, I have thought fit to call forth citizens of the United States, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, to the aggregate number of 400,000 in order to suppress existing rebellious combinations, and cause a due execution of the laws; and furthermore, in case any state or number of states shall fail to furnish, by the 15th June next, their assigned quotas, it is hereby ordered that the same be raised by immediate and peremptory draft. The details of this ob-

ject will be communicated to the state authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the power, integrity and existence of our national Union, and perpetuity of our popular Government.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at Washington this 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1864, and of the Independence of the United States the 88th.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"By the President: Wm. H. Seward."

As the war had destroyed the telegraphic connections with the East, the *Daily Picayune* had no means of knowing that this had been exposed as a fake, fabricated by a Republican reporter on the Brooklyn *Eagle* as part of a scheme to raise the price of gold so that he and certain speculators might profit.² Not until May 26 did New Orleans learn, from an issue of the St. Louis *Republican* which made its slow way downstream, that the military authorities had seized the *World* and *Journal of Commerce* of New York, and offices of the Independent Telegraph Company in several cities, for spreading this report. On that day, the *Daily Picayune* was suppressed.

It was not allowed to resume until July 9, 1864. In the day's leader, it reminded readers that it had always tried to present the news accurately and objectively, and had punctiliously observed all military regulations; and added, "It is our intention to support the government of the United States and steadily to advocate the measures necessary to the establishment of its authority in all parts of the country," reserving the right, however, to discuss all policies of government "in a fair and candid spirit."

If the *Daily Picayune* had betrayed its principles in its attitude

² Joseph Howard, Jr. The forgery was dated May 18, 1864. He gathered a large profit. He was thrown into prison but was released when Henry Ward Beecher made a personal appeal to Lincoln.

towards the Union government; if its readers had not been so thoroughly convinced of its sincerity of purpose, and the wisdom of its leadership, it could not have survived, in those desperate days of business, the suppression. When it was closed, it was running six to eight pages a day, with about twenty columns of advertising. When it resumed, it printed four pages, and seventeen columns of advertising; but in August, reached eight pages on four days. By January, 1865, it was printing thirty-two columns of advertising on Sundays and eighteen on week days, and went to eight pages on nine days that month.

On economic conditions, the *Daily Picayune* was equally optimistic, equally realistic. It gave this humorous twist to a discouraging situation on May 10, 1863: "Business is making the most strenuous efforts to see how dull it can be"; and on August 1, it told of the pleasant walk one could take on the river front, moonlight nights, for "trade offers no impediments in the way of heaped-up bales and barrels, and the steamers are too few to prevent the balm-freighted winds from wandering as they list."

But it jubilantly called attention to the straws which indicated a change. For instance, on March 2, it saw significance in the fact that the "Columbia" had made the run from New York in the record-breaking time of eight days; and it became quite excited, October 22, after military orders had opened the upper river to trade, in reporting the arrival of the "Empress" from Natchez with 4901 bales of cotton worth \$2,000,000, "the most valuable cargo ever brought to this port." After an economic summary of 1860, showing domestic receipts more than \$185,000,000, imports \$21,000,000, exports \$108,393,567, maritime arrivals 2052, steamboat arrivals 3566, it said: "The wildest dreamer does not imagine that this city for years to come will be, in business, what it has been in the past; but its present condition can be improved, and its future can be made more favorable."

The *Daily Picayune* devoted itself as earnestly to building confidence in the future of New Orleans, Louisiana, and the South as,

during the year under the Confederacy, to building loyalty to that cause. Nearly every day it ran such an article. For instance, on August 27, 1865, it urged the development of a livestock industry, for which "the South is peculiarly favored"; and on September 2, it said: "Perhaps there can be given no illustration of Southern energy more conspicuous than the celerity with which the railroad system is being reorganized and resuscitated after the terrible shocks to which it was subjected during the war."

From the reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce, February 17, 1864, the *Daily Picayune* foresaw important developments.³ In his inaugural address, which the *Daily Picayune* printed on April 9, President Charles Briggs said that besides the stimulation of trade, the organization had a "moral" purpose, namely, to combat the "deteriorating influences" of the social and economic convulsion. It must work to that end by "using the ballot box fearlessly and conscientiously," he said, and added: "If we are scrupulously careful in the admission of our members, a certificate of membership of this Chamber will become a diploma, conferring upon its holder the right to all the consideration and respect which high commercial character and standing always command in all parts of the civilized world; and those resident among us who desire to participate in our privileges and advantages must qualify themselves for admission by lives of strict social and commercial probity, to the great advantage of public morals and private happiness."

Goats at this time were a nuisance; they destroyed gardens and raided pantries whenever an open gate or door invited their attention, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on April 3, 1863. On May 8, it rushed to the defense of Louisiana-made rum, against which a destructive propaganda had been started: "Let it alone long enough, and it will ripen and mellow so as to become equal to the best Jamaica spirits ever imported." Nine days later, it deplored the use of

³ The Chamber of Commerce was incorporated in 1834, with a membership of 63. In 1852 it had a membership of 95. Only 11 of these members were in New Orleans when the Chamber was reorganized in 1864.

the public squares for purposes of war. Jackson Square was a happy exception: "There the flowers grow and the roses bloom as they did before the war, and there the children meet at eventide and dance and play on the shelled walks or on the velvet green." But the *Daily Picayune* referred nostalgically to the Square's "venerable sycamores and oaks which had grown with the city's growth" until the Countess of Pontalba discovered they were "ragged and beggarly" and ordered their sacrifice before erecting the two buildings flanking the Square. Heavy rains which flooded the city—on July 3, 1864, some streets were two feet under water, and a boy was almost drowned in the Canal street canal—brought a new task to the people, for by an ordinance that year, they were required to scrape from their sidewalks the mud left by such visitations.

There was a big Voudou excitement, when police raided a meeting of the cult. "This is the first time for years that a Voudou meeting has been interrupted," reported the *Daily Picayune* on July 31, 1863. About twenty women, almost naked, were arrested as they danced around a huge pot filled with some unknown obscenity. The trial brought about four hundred Negro women into court. The prosecution attempted to prove that the incantations were in behalf of the Confederates, on the theory that the free Negroes scorned the slaves, and dreaded the social repercussions if Union victory brought emancipation. All the accused were discharged.

But this did not end the Voudou flurry. The *Daily Picayune*, on August 13, reported that a woman suffering from a snake in the stomach went to a Voudou doctor for relief. She drank a fearful mixture of herbs and roots steeped in tobacco juice, and the snake disappeared. But a baby was born. On September 24, the *Daily Picayune* reported that a policeman, afflicted with insomnia, ripped open his pillows, and sure enough, found in each the Voudou curse—"the body of a rag baby, made of particolored materials, and sewed together with thread of every imaginable hue. . . . They were curiously stuffed with horse hair, and a short pin was sticking

in the place where their little hearts should be." The dolls were burned, and blessed sleep came. There was another round-up of Voudou practitioners when, on October 3, a dog, at Magazine and Felicity streets, was found gnawing "at part of the body of a negro." This turned out to be a fragment of anatomical specimen which a boy "found" in a doctor's office and sold to a Negro woman for a dime. On May 1 the *Daily Picayune* reported that nearly every tomb in "John Hughes' graveyard" in Algiers had been rifled, the bones scattered and the skulls taken away for Voudou rites.

One of the profitable enterprises of the time, for a man of slender capital, was hunting bullfrogs, turtles, and alligators. The best frogs brought \$2.50 to \$3 a dozen; alligator skins 75 cents to \$1 each, and 25 cents extra for the fat; and turtles, a by-product, so to speak, had a nominal value. In its issue of February 28, the *Daily Picayune* tells how the bullfrog flees from the approach of a turtle to the protection of an alligator meditating in his hole. The hunter, armed with a net, a pole, and a turtle on a cord, enters the swamp, stalks a retreating bullfrog, and pushes the turtle, with the pole, into the hole-of-refuge. Enraged at the intrusion of the turtle, the alligator threshes around so violently that the "two or three dozen bullfrogs" in his court are driven forth, and the hunter catches them in his net. Then the hunter goads the alligator out with the pole, and shoots him.

The people must have been of strong constitution to survive such unsanitary conditions as those caused by the dumping of dead cavalry horses into the Mississippi. "The drink of our people is drawn from the river," said the *Daily Picayune* on March 1, 1864. This complaint does not seem to have done much good, for on October 29, 1865, it reported that steamboats were mooring above the intake pipes of the waterworks company, and the filth they discharged was immediately sucked in and distributed through the city. But New Orleans escaped the "singular and virulent disease" which according to the issue of August 31, 1865, attacked New

York as a result of the "filthy condition of the seats in the cars of one of the city lines of railway."

Experiments in power plowing in England and the Western states attracted some interest, but as the *Daily Picayune* pointed out February 16, 1864, there was doubt as to the economy of this method.

Long beards, we learn on September 8, "are the rule, not the exception." On December 4, New Orleans learned that G. Merz had opened the first lager beer factory in that city. Those interested in petroleum developments in the North could choose between the two theories on the formation of oil, as expounded in the *Daily Picayune* of January 15, 1865. One held that petroleum exuded "from coal deep in the bowels of the earth"; the other, that it is "condensed from gases formed in the incandescent center of the globe, and forced into crevices of its crust, and that coal is but condensed petroleum." Toy balloons were an exciting novelty, as the paper noted on January 20.

On April 23, 1865, it printed what purported to be an intercepted letter written by a Confederate girl in Nashville to her brother in Hood's army. A Federal captain "is boarding with us merely for protection," she says early in the letter, and then tells all the neighborhood gossip. While waiting for a chance to smuggle the missive through the lines, she adds a series of postscripts:

"P.S. 1. Do you think it would be a violation of my Southern principles to take an occasional ride for my health with the captain? He has such a nice horse and buggy. You know there can be no possible harm in that.

"P.S. 2. That impertinent fellow actually squeezed my hands as he helped me out of the buggy this evening. We had such a delightful ride. I want you to come home and protect me, Tom, and I don't like to live this way much longer.

"P.S. 3. If ever I should marry a Yankee (but you know my principles too well for that), I would do it merely as the humble

instrument to avenge the wrongs of my poor, oppressed country. Little peace should he find, by day or by night; thorns should be planted in his couch; his dreams should be of Holofernes, and my drygoods bill as long as the internal revenue law.

“P.S. 4. Come home, brother Tom, and take the amnesty oath for two months or thereabouts. I want to tell you a secret. On due consideration, I have come to the determination to make a martyr of myself. Yes, brother Tom, I am going to marry the captain on patriotic principles.”

Fact or fiction, the story was a symbol of the future, which the *Daily Picayune*'s policy envisioned.

Peace

LEE SURRENDERED to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, and the war was over.¹ New Orleans did not learn of it until April 14, when the steamboat "W. R. Arthur" brought the news downriver, and the telegraph instrument at Baton Rouge sped it to the city. Not only had the war destroyed telegraph lines in the South, but Eastern lines had been badly damaged by storms and floods in the Allegheny Valley. The *Daily Picayune* issued an extra. The next day, it ran a column and two-thirds, made up, for the most part, of official messages. There was no color, no drama, no human interest. None was needed. Out of their own personal experiences the men and women and children, grown haggard in war, could supply a more poignant understanding of what had taken place and what it meant, than any emotional churn could induce.

New Orleans celebrated—the victors because they had triumphed, the vanquished because they had peace. Easter was two days away.

¹ It was not until May 26, 1865, that the last organized resistance to Federal forces ended. On that day, 60,000 Confederate troops surrendered at Shreveport. Shreveport was not only the capital of Louisiana, during the war, but was also military headquarters of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate army, which embraced Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, and parts of Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Arizona, New Mexico, and Missouri.

"Exactly four years had passed to-day since, on the 15th of April, Gen. Beauregard had fired the first gun at the United States flag waving over Fort Sumter," noted the *Daily Picayune*.

In Lafayette Square, cannon roared a noontide salute of two hundred guns. Above City Hall waved the flag which Butler hoisted in June, 1862. Orators, mounting the stand erected in front of the building, shouted themselves hoarse. Happy crowds sang and danced in the streets. Bands played, champagne corks popped, business houses laced themselves with gas illumination, "Union now and forever" wrote itself in letters of fire against the sky.

Hope, in the South, concreted itself around Grant's magnanimous attitude towards Lee, Lincoln's broad humanity, and the constructive tolerance of the nation's dominant leadership, as outlined in the New York *Evening Express*, reprinted in the *Daily Picayune* April 18: "The past should instruct and admonish us that there is no Union among men except upon the just basis of equal rights to all, both North and South; that the only sure way to peace is through power tempered with justice and clemency. Seven millions of men can not be brought back to Republican government by mere force. They may be overcome, but not subdued, for there is the spirit within which must be won."

While New Orleans was celebrating, Washington, and other cities within reach of the telegraph over which newspaper correspondents sent the unprecedented volume of 85,000 words in a single day, were hysterical with fear that the shambles would begin again, for the President had been assassinated on the night of Friday, April 14.

It was one of the greatest stories that ever blasted a headline. And it popped, in New Orleans, inside.

This was because of the mechanical operations of newspaper publication at the time. The page forms were made up in their natural order so that the broad sheets of paper, fed to the presses by hand, could be printed, first on one side, and then on the other. When a form was made up, it was not disturbed: moving hand-set

type was slow, and there was always the danger of pi. Late news habitually made inside, printed under a "Later" caption.

This was just as well, for in that day, a person bought a newspaper because he intended to read it, not because he intended to see how much he could avoid reading. He began at the beginning and worked through to the end. Headlines did not excite him—they were not much more than listings of stories that could be found somewhere on the page. Many unrelated subjects were carried in the same grouping of "banks."

So when the people picked up the *Daily Picayune* on the morning of April 19, they saw nothing, on that inkily fragrant Page 1, to warn them that this was to be more than just another day. Perhaps they wondered if the naval battle, predicted in the month-old article from Ferrol, Spain, had come off, and if so, who had won. Certainly, there was nothing exciting in the Secretary of the Treasury's letter of April 4 regarding certain fiscal claims. And the invention of "elliptical steel springs," the flexibility of which made it possible for women in hoop skirts to extricate themselves, with greater ease, from "crowded assemblies, carriages, railroad cars, church pews," etc., was not new, for that reader advertisement had been running for some time. On Page 2, they agreed or disagreed with the critic's opinion of the athletes at the Academy of Music and the musical program at the St. Charles opera house; and read the President's speech of April 11, carrying a mention of Louisiana. On Page 3, they found relief from the sheriff's sales, and equally weighty material, in the "Arrest of a Gay Lothario," and turned to Page 4, which was halfway through the paper.

The first column contained paragraphs, some light, some not so light; the second a ponderous editorial about Secretary of State William H. Seward. They then entered column 3, and were in the presence of the greatest real-life drama in American history.

Abraham Lincoln shot down at the supreme moment of his career; killed in the midst of his friends, many of them soldiers, at a gala performance of the comedy *Our American Cousin* in Ford's

theater; murdered by the tragedian John Wilkes Booth who cued his entrance to the speech, "you sockdologizing old man-trap!" in front of an audience who believed this was part of the show until Mrs. Lincoln leaped, screaming, in the box!

Telegraphed from Baton Rouge, to which the steamboat "Sultana" had carried it, the news reached New Orleans after Page 1 had been made up. With eleven banks in the headline, four of them relating to other subjects, the story came within four body-type lines of filling one column. The news crash took not quite two inches. Here it is:

"BATON ROUGE, APRIL 19, 12:30 P.M.

"By the arrival of the steamer Sultana we have received dates of the 15th:

"Official.

"President Lincoln was assassinated last night at Ford's theater. He was shot through the head, and he died this A.M. Secretary Seward was also assassinated; his throat was cut by a desperado, who cut down Fred Seward, his son, a nephew, and two nurses before reaching the Secretary's bed. At last accounts, he was still alive.

"War Department, Washington, April 14.—To Major Gen. Dix: Abraham Lincoln died this morning, at 20 minutes after 7 o'clock.

"E. M. STANTON, SEC. OF WAR."

The Secretary's error in the date, like the reporter's statements, within the space of five lines, that Seward was both dead and alive, testified to the frantic state of mind then. Lincoln was shot soon after 10:15 P.M. on the night of April 14, and died at 7:20 on the morning of April 15. Not only the Secretary but others were in confusion. Washington sent out a story dated April 13, describing the murder scene with vivid accuracy; and one dated April 14, 1:30 A.M., on the "Death Bed of President Lincoln."² A careful research would probably reveal many similar errors—one of those

² These articles were reprinted in the *Daily Picayune*, respectively, April 20 and April 21.

intensely human touches that come to us only through a newspaper. The mental collapse that made responsible men forget the day of the month helps explain the hysterical assumption, immediately taken and increasingly insisted on, that the plot was concocted by the South itself, acting through its responsible leaders, and the purpose was to reopen the war. Hence the delivery of Congress to the Radicals, whose hatred contrived the punishments of reconstruction that were so profitable to the carpetbaggers.

The Southern implications of the assassination were too obvious for the people of New Orleans to need the warning which the *Daily Picayune* hung up when it reprinted such statements from New York and St. Louis papers as, the "utmost rage is undoubtedly felt toward all known secessionists and rebel sympathizers," and the "era of mercy" for which Lincoln stood "will now end."

In editorial comment the *Daily Picayune* sought to counteract the outrageous charges that were being made. For example:

April 20: "It was as if a black pall had descended upon the city . . . there was one universal expression of unfeigned sorrow, mingled with a very natural feeling of indignation. . . ."

April 21: Denounced as "false and calumnious" and the "greatest injustice to the Southern people" the statement in the *True Delta*, of April 20, that there were persons in New Orleans who approved of the *attentat*.

April 23: Thirteen-inch editorial entitled *The General Mourning*, in this key: "Laying aside all clamor, evil speaking, bitterness and malignity, let us be resolved to do, each man, his duty to his fellow man, and to labor, with a steady purpose, for the rescue of the nation from its deplorable condition."

New Orleans business houses closed their doors. Craped flags dropped to half-mast; the city garbed itself in black. We read in the *Daily Picayune* of April 23 that "from the summit to the pediment of several very tall six-storied buildings on Canal street, have hung for several days the badges of mourning"; and that an old Continental flag was displayed to remind the people of their com-

mon national origin, and also "the only United States flag which was kissed by Southern air in all the Southern states on the 22nd of February, 1861."

Judge J. S. Whitaker called, and presided over, a mass meeting which was held in Lafayette Square on Saturday, April 22. There was also a meeting in the First Presbyterian church. Mayor Hugh Kennedy presided there. The *Daily Picayune* next morning estimated the crowds at 20,000. It gives us a vivid picture of the fresh green of the grass and sycamore trees against the black backdrop of the mourning-draped houses; describes the solemnity of that packed stage while orator after orator spoke; and makes us feel the sincerity of the resolutions expressing abhorrence of the assassination, characterizing it as an attack on the "dearest rights of the citizen," extolling the patriotism, honesty, purity, magnanimity, love of liberty and large ability of Lincoln; and establishing a thirty-day period of general mourning.

After that first day, the story had Page 1 position in the *Daily Picayune*, and overflowed into the inside pages as the earlier forms went to press. The paper devoted about a third of its space to developments, culled from newspapers which came downriver by steamboat, or included in correspondence which made its slow way to New Orleans.³

Scene by scene the drama slowly unfolded, vivid, intense: death-bed of Lincoln; midnight meeting of the terrified Cabinet; Booth's movements and revelation of the "conspiracy" plans; canceling of theatrical engagements of his innocent brothers, Junius and Edwin; funeral preparations, and the progress of the funeral train to Springfield, Illinois; inauguration of Johnson as president; Seward's condition; the arrest of various conspirators.

There were no pictures, but the *Daily Picayune* in its issue of April 30 printed a two-inch announcement that the "N.O. Photographic Company's saloon, No. 5 Camp street," had three photographs of Booth, a "handsome" man who showed "a trace of

³ The total averaged about twenty-two columns.

chained or suppressed passion" in his "aparently [*sic*] indifferent manner."

No newspaper in the country was sufficiently staffed to cover the search for Booth, the broadest and the most sensational man hunt the nation had ever staged. It is doubtful that the hysterical officials would have given permission to report the details. So this phase of the drama was presented in a vague and general way.

Readers, therefore, did not thrill to the clues picked up along Booth's and Herold's lonely trail—Surrattsville (Clinton) at midnight April 14; the home of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, where the broken foot was splinted, near Bryantown, 4 A.M. to 4 P.M. April 15; the bitter interview with Colonel Samuel Cox, Maryland planter, midnight of April 15; in the swamps near the Potomac until April 22; crossing that stream on the twenty-third, the night in the cabin of the Negro Lucas, and crossing the Rappahannock, April 24; hiding at the Garrett farm until pursuit caught up with them on the twenty-sixth.

The news of Booth's death reached New Orleans, Wednesday, May 2, in a telegram from Port Hudson, dated 9:20 A.M., based on newspapers which reached that place the night before on the steamboat "W. R. Arthur." The *Daily Picayune* issued an extra. Counting the nine-bank headline, the story occupied a column and a half. The lead was this official statement:

"War Dep't., Washington, April 27.—To Major Gen. Dix: J. Wilkes Booth and Harrold [*sic*] were chased from the swamps in St. Mary's county, Md., to Garrett's farm, near Port Royal, on the Rappahannock, by Col. Baker's force. The barn in which they took refuge was fired. Booth, in attempting to make his escape, was shot in the head and killed, lingering about three hours. Harrold was captured. Booth's body, with Harrold, are now here."

The next day—May 3—the *Daily Picayune* lifted nearly two columns from the newspapers which the "W. R. Arthur" brought, into

Page 1. This material included the last scene in the Booth pursuit, and the dialogue between him, in the blazing barn, and the soldiers surrounding it—as dramatic and vivid a piece of reporting as one would wish to read.

Booth was shot at 2:30 A.M. April 26. The shot was fired probably by his own hand, not by the self-castrated Sergeant Boston Corbett, who, for political reasons, was given the credit and a large part of the reward money that had been offered. The bullet followed the same course as did the one which destroyed the President.

Like Lincoln, Booth lingered for several hours. Like Lincoln, he may have realized, before the black-out of his mind, that a terrible punishment awaited the South. For Lincoln knew of the powerful coalition in his own government opposing his policy of mercy; and Booth, during his wanderings, became convinced that the South could not strike another blow, and that it was charged with responsibility for his act.

As the *Daily Picayune* said in the column and a half editorial on April 30, "With many of our cotemporaries North and South, we entirely agree that the death of President Lincoln by the hand of an assassin was the most unfortunate event for the Southern people that by any possibility could have occurred."

Hope

AS THE DEAD earth springs to green life when a relieving rain falls, so did business revive when peace allowed the free movement of trade. The *Daily Picayune* happily recorded, on June 9, 1865, the reopening of "many old-established houses." The summers, in New Orleans, had always been dull, even in the fabulous period; but "We have never before seen our business streets so crowded and animated at this season," it said on July 30. On that day, it carried two and a half columns of steamboat and steamship advertisements. "Our city is so full of people that we can hardly get through it," it said on October 3, and added, "There are 100,000 bales of cotton now in this city. One year ago, there was hardly any cotton here." Traffic problems increased. The city's two sprinkling carts could not cope with the dust stirred up by the increased movement on "several hundred miles of streets," as the paper reported on October 11. "Furious driving" caused many accidents, and on November 1, the editor devoted half a column to the demand that the authorities enforce the laws which "are daily and hourly, if not momentarily, placed at defiance." "The demand for houses to live in, for offices and warehouses, was never so great in the history of the city," said the *Daily Picayune* on October 7.

But conditions in the country were not so encouraging. Butler's liberal interpretation of the war measures and the Constitutional Convention of 1864, breaking up slavery, demoralized labor condi-

tions. The Negroes threw down the shovel and the hoe. "Sambo's Idea of Freedom" was, as summarized in the doggerel printed in the *Black Hawk Chronicle*, issued July 4, 1863, aboard Admiral Porter's flagship, the "Black Hawk," at the siege of Vicksburg:

"Millennium come, Lor bress de day, de nigger work no more.
De white man work for nigger now, which they nebber done
before;
What bully t'ing 'twill be to see dem cotton gins a-going,
Wid nigger sleepin' in de sun, while massa's sot to hoein'."

Production dropped enormously. For example, Terrebonne parish in 1860 had 80 plantations which produced 28,282 hogsheads of sugar; in 1864, only 37, which yielded a total of 625 hogsheads.

Military orders of November 18, 1863, prohibiting the recruiting of plantation hands; and of February 4, 1864, and June 30, 1865, establishing a wage basis for the ex-slaves, were directed at the relief of agriculture. So was the vagrant law which the Legislature shaped after the Massachusetts model, and promulgated on December 20, 1865. But the planting was slow.

Under the labor contracts prescribed by military regulations, the pay, besides food, clothing, quarters, fuel, medical attention and schools for children, was to be \$6 to \$10 a month for males, depending on their ability; \$5 to \$8 for females; \$3 for boys and \$2 for girls under fourteen—half payable quarterly, the rest by January 31. In summer, a work day was ten hours; in winter, nine; Sundays free, half-day on Saturdays.

The increase in population and the postwar inflation caused a great jump in prices. On September 23, 1864, the *Daily Picayune* reported that the five-cent piece had virtually gone out of circulation. A glass of beer, a peach, a pear, or a bunch of grapes cost a dime; fish brought 15 cents a pound; beef jumped to 45 cents a pound, and butter to 65; coal went to \$25 to \$30 a ton, wood to \$8 to \$10 a cord. Persons authorized to own hunting guns in 1864 paid

\$1 a pound for powder, 25 cents a pound for shot. That same year, the city discontinued many of the street lights because of the cost, and quoted a price of \$45 a year for persons who wished to have a light near their home or place of business. Rents doubled. A "cheap Canal street store" on January 24, 1864, advertised calico at 23 cents a yard. To the high price of whisky, and not to the military order of April 16, 1863, prohibiting drinking in barrooms, theaters, or similar establishments after 9 P.M., the *Daily Picayune*, on September 25, 1864, attributed the fewer arrests for drunkenness.

Ice went to 10 cents a pound, and butchers paid the ice houses 3 cents a pound to store their meat from the closing time of one day to the opening time of the next. Even when the long-becalmed schooners reached the city and unloaded 2,000,000 pounds of ice, the *Daily Picayune* reported, August 26, 1865, that the people "get no more for a dime than they did last week." This was natural ice, brought from Boston in sailing craft which were sometimes more than two months in making the passage. In July, 1864, an experimental plant for making ice was opened in an old cotton warehouse at Tchoupitoulas and Orange streets. "Creole ice" the *Daily Picayune* called it—the accolade of excellence. After operating for a year, the Louisiana Ice Works Company developed a capacity of six hundred pounds every three hours; and put out a \$250,000 stock issue with the inducement that every \$50 share would carry the right to buy five pounds of ice a day for one cent a pound.

The *Daily Picayune* shared in the expansion. After March, 1865, it never printed fewer than eight pages. Towards the end of the year, it printed more ten- and twelve-page issues than eight. It resumed publication of the long-suspended weekly on June 3, and revived the job shop at the same time; it donned a new typographical dress October 17. By the fall of the year, it was running as much as forty-eight columns of advertisements a day—seven of them devoted to transportation: railroads, steamboats, and steamships.

Because of the advance in operating expenses, it entered into a publishers' agreement—published August 27, 1864—with the *Era*,

Courier Français, *True Delta*, *Bee*, and *Times*, to advance prices. Single copies were ten cents for the morning issue, 5 cents for the afternoon; subscriptions, \$16 a year. Display advertisements were \$1.50 a square for the first insertion, 75 cents for repeats; reader advertisements, 20 cents a line. The modified agreement of November 16, 1865, invited volume and steady contracts by offering a square at \$12 a month and \$75 a year; thirty squares, \$175 a month, \$1200 a year. The rate on Page 2, however, was higher: \$20 a month; and transients had to pay \$1.50 for each insertion.¹

Kendall returned to the paper, as the *Daily Picayune* announced December 31, 1865. On December 3, the masthead had been changed from "A. M. Holbrook, editor and proprietor," to "Kendall, Holbrook and Company, editors and proprietors." The *Daily Picayune*'s announcement read: "It will doubtless gratify the friends and patrons of *The Picayune*, as it is a source of unalloyed satisfaction to us, to welcome back to the old scene of his labors and pleasures, our esteemed friend and senior, George Wilkins Kendall. Seven long, long years, and such years, have passed since Mr. Kendall was with us. It is a great pleasure to us to find that his sturdy nature, physical, moral and intellectual, has borne up so cheerily and bravely against the many troubles and trials, and under the heavy burden of care and anxiety which we have all had to carry during the eventful period of his absence. His hardy temperament has been invigorated by the pure air, healthful exercise and bracing pursuits of his life in his distant Texan home, and leads him to regard our recent troubles and misfortunes, and the present difficulties in our path of Southern restoration and renewed prosperity, as only new and fresh incentives to energetic effort, persevering labor and patriotic zeal, in the great work of recuperation and reorganization."

Did the war, which publicized violence and firearms, start the

¹ A square was ten agate (5½ point) lines one column wide—not quite three quarters of a column inch of type. Advertising in the large dailies is now sold by the agate line—14 of them to the inch. In small country papers, advertising is sold by the column inch.

vogue of ladies shooting their gentlemen friends? Not that resentment at recalcitrant lovers did not find lethal expression years and centuries and eons before then; but performance had not been on a volume basis, to borrow a manufacturing term, that today makes the editor keep that headline ready, especially when the irritabilities of warm weather begin. At any rate, the *Daily Picayune* on October 18, 1865, feared that a precedent had been set by the case of the young woman of Washington, D.C., who had shot her sweetheart dead, been acquitted after a sensational trial, and "kissed in a congratulatory manner by her gallant counsel." For, almost immediately after, two other young women invoked the same finality. Eastern stores reported a big business in pistols. The Colts factory put out a highly ornamented revolver for the feminine trade, business in the shooting galleries picked up, a New York reporter "was frightened out of his wits the other day by seeing two elegantly dressed ladies seated in one of the fashionable Squares, very leisurely comparing pistols," and a group of Chicago men "petitioned the police commissioners" to "require all ladies to give up their arms." New Orleans had not yet embraced the new violence, but even in that conservative city the portents were dark, for the women were losing their veneration for the sterner sex, if we may judge by the *Daily Picayune's* revelation of October 24 that they were referring to young men as "snips" and old bachelors as "schmacks." Said the paper: "You must pop or get popped."

There was a great deal of cotton stealing—principally by young men and boys who tapped the dropsical bales. The practice "has become an everyday, almost hourly occurrence," recorded the *Daily Picayune* on October 1, 1864. Middling on that day was \$1.58 a pound. Authority seems to have been more interested in getting its cut than in breaking up the racket, for the paper recorded on October 7, 1865, in referring to the cases which were brought to trial, "The cotton is usually confiscated for the benefit of the city" and "the cotton stealers are discharged and, we presume, go to work again at the same business."

Military orders, early in 1865, closed all theaters, billiard rooms and other amusements on Sunday, and New Orleans seems to have accepted, without loud demur, this new inhibition upon its liberty of pleasure. Mr. W. N. Harris, "champion pedestrian of the world," was careful to begin his hundred hours of consecutive walking on a plank twenty-two inches wide by twenty-two feet long, in the St. Charles opera house, at an hour which enabled him to finish before midnight ushered in Sunday, October 1. A few months before, military authority had closed gambling houses—or ordered them closed. Pool was considered a gambling game, but not billiards. The city attorney who made this fine distinction, in the *Daily Picayune* of November 6, 1864, held that the essence of gambling is profit. In the pool game then popular, there were a number of players, and they made up a pot at which to shoot. But at billiards, only two men played, and though the loser paid for the table, the winner did not profit.

On the night of May 3, 1865, a 300 by 50-yard strip of the Algiers river bank, opposite Canal street, suddenly slid into the yellow stream, leaving a sixty-foot depth of water where there had been dry land. The monstrous displacement hurled a flood into the streets of Algiers, and threw one of the drydocks, sunk when New Orleans fell, to the surface for a few terrible seconds. Fortunately no one was killed. The occurrence emphasized the threat which the long neglect of the levees and other river-front protection measures carried for the people.

Odd Fellows' Hall, opposite Lafayette Square, where the post office now stands, was returned to its owners early in November, after being used as a barracks for three years. The scene of many brilliant gatherings, balls, and concerts by such artists as Ole Bull and Gottschalk, this building had a great sentimental value for the people, and its release from military use was a rubric on the city's new page of hope. A few days later, the Moresque building at Camp and Poydras streets, left unfinished when the war broke out, was sold to Mr. J. Gauche, who had a queensware store on

Royal street, for \$160,000. In December, a mass meeting of working men demanded an eight-hour day. Labor-saving machinery, according to the *Daily Picayune's* report of the fourteenth, made possible their release from a ten-hour bondage.

The population of the United States increased more than seven million, during the decade, to 38,558,371. Four states were admitted—Kansas in 1861, West Virginia in 1863, Nevada in 1864, and Nebraska in 1867. In Louisiana and New Orleans the census of 1870 revealed growths, respectively, of 18,913 and 22,743, to 726,915 and 191,418. Five parishes were erected during the ten-year period—Iberia and Richland in 1868, with populations, respectively, of 9041 and 3110; Grant and Tangipahoa in 1869, with populations of 4492 and 8928; and Cameron in 1870, with a population of 1591.²

Yes, the promise was great, but performance ran afoul of reconstruction.

² Population figures are from the census of 1870.

Reconstruction

THE SIGNS, before the war was over, pointed to an early return of Louisiana into the Union. President Lincoln had entered the struggle to prevent secession, and it was his policy that the states should be restored to their former rights and powers as soon as possible. Early in January, 1864, General N. P. Banks proclaimed that a state election would be held on February 22; and that in April would be convoked a Constitutional Convention to revise the organic law of 1852. He restricted the vote to white men, twenty-one or older, who had been residents of the state for twelve months and of the parish for six, and who had taken the oath prescribed by the President in his proclamation of December 8, 1863.

Of Louisiana's 700,000 population, only about 125,000 were within the Federal lines.¹

Michael Hahn was elected governor. He polled 6171 votes, as compared with J. Q. A. Fellows' 2959 and B. F. Flanders' 2225.

Hahn was a native of Bavaria who was brought to New Orleans when a child, and was educated in the city's public schools and in the University of Louisiana. He took the oath of allegiance to the United States after the capture of New Orleans, and under Butler was elected to Congress. Early in 1864 he became owner and editor of the *True Delta*.

¹ The election returns were from New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Algiers, Lockport, Port Hudson, Carrollton, Donaldsonville, Franklin, Forts McComb and Jackson, Buras, and—for Louisiana men who had enlisted in the Union army—Barrancas, Florida.

The military supervisory power was not withdrawn, but New Orleans acclaimed him the "first free-state governor of Louisiana." His inaugural on March 4 was a great occasion, as attested by two and a half columns of six-point type in the *Daily Picayune*. There was no building large enough for the ceremonies, so Lafayette Square was used. The tree trunks were whitewashed, the branches were festooned with arbor vitae, the walks were spread with fresh shells, and an amphitheater, with seats rising twenty-five feet above the platform, was built of Maine spruce. The square was aflutter with flags, and hundreds of Chinese lanterns were hung between the pillars of City Hall. At sunrise, a hundred guns saluted the return of civil government. By 11 A.M., Lafayette Square and the surrounding streets were packed. To the accompaniment of a three-hundred-piece band, five thousand school children lifted their voices in song. Hahn and Banks spoke, the church bells went mad, and fifty guns roared. Parades throbbed through the streets that night; there was a brilliant ball at the opera house.

Meanwhile, the Confederates maintained a state government in the territory controlled by their armies. The capital was Shreveport. Brigadier General Henry W. Allen had succeeded Thomas O. Moore as governor—a most remarkable man, Allen. He had served in the Mexican War; and, enlisting as a private when the War Between the States broke out, had fought at Shiloh and Baton Rouge, and climbed to high command by his ability. His economic leadership during the palsied days when the Union blockade cut his people off from the source of supplies was brilliant. After the war, he went to Mexico City, where he edited a newspaper bolstering the Maximilian government, until his death, in poverty, April 22, 1866.

Recognizing the new government, President Lincoln in a letter to Hahn dated March 13, 1864, diffidently suggested that the suffrage be extended to Negroes with property or educational qualifications, and those who had taken an active part in the preservation of the Union. If this advice had been followed, Louisiana

might have been spared some of the horrors of reconstruction—at least, this would have deprived the Radicals of their principal excuse for the outrages they perpetrated; but, though the new government was strongly in favor of emancipation, it was too much to expect Louisiana, or any other Southern state, at that time, to extend the vote to Negroes: many Northern states had not yet gone that far.

Southerners felt no antipathy to or bitterness against the Negroes: they sincerely believed the race had not advanced sufficiently in intelligence to merit the vote, and feared the consequences if this power were put into the hands of a people so recently delivered from slavery. The Negroes heavily outnumbered the whites in many sections.

The Constitutional Convention met April 6 in Liberty Hall, which was on the top floor of City Hall; elected Judge E. H. Durell president; and sat for seventy-eight days. The ninety-eight delegates represented only nineteen parishes.² The Convention drew up a Constitution which abolished slavery, provided for the education of Negroes, gave the vote to whites, and passed on to the Legislature the question of extending suffrage to Negroes. It established the capital in New Orleans, authorized the licensing of lotteries and gambling saloons, and set four- and two-year terms, respectively, for state senators and representatives.

The Convention accomplished these changes at a cost of \$125,000, which included such expenses as \$9421.55 for cigars and liquor at the free bar; ³ \$4304.25 for carriage hire; \$8111.55 for stationery; and \$150 for a pen for General Banks.

Before adjourning, it adopted a resolution authorizing its reconconvocation “at the call of the president . . . for any cause, or in case the Constitution should not be ratified, and for the purpose of taking such measures as may be necessary for the formation of a

² Orleans, Assumption, Avoyelles, East and West Baton Rouge, Concordia, East Feliciana, Jefferson, Lafourche, Madison, Rapides, St. Bernard, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Ascension, Plaquemines, and Iberville.

³ Brandy which cost \$8 a gallon was charged at \$23.

civil government for the state of Louisiana" or for "making amendments or additions to the Constitution that may, in the opinion of the Legislature, require a re-assembling of the Convention."

The Constitution was adopted, 6836 to 1566, by the election of September 5. The same election chose a Legislature and two members of Congress, F. Bořzano of the First District, and A. P. Field of the Second District.

Meeting October 3, the Legislature accepted the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, abolishing slavery, but took no vote on the question of Negro suffrage. It rejected, 58 to 4, a bill legalizing marriage of Negroes with whites. It chose R. King Cutler and Charles Smith to represent Louisiana in the Senate.

When Missouri and Tennessee passed their emancipation Acts, Governor Hahn proclaimed a state celebration. Those Acts, "with those of Louisiana and Maryland," he said, "are forerunners of the time when liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." The celebration was held on January 24. According to the *Daily Picayune's* report, about four thousand Negroes gathered in Lafayette Square, carrying flags, bannered representations of Lincoln, and a miniature ship, symbolizing the new course of the ship of state; after some oratory, they paraded through the city.

Congress had, in the meantime, become more Radical, under the leadership of the bitter Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, and insisted on Negro suffrage as a prerequisite to readmission of the Southern states into the Union. It took the position that Louisiana was still in a state of insurrection, and that the government which Lincoln had recognized was, in the words of Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, a "mere seven-months' abortion, begotten by the bayonet in criminal conjunction with the spirit of caste." It refused to recognize the Congressional representatives; refused, even, to count the electoral vote which Louisiana sent to Washington in January.

The anti-South hatred precipitated by Lincoln's assassination

strengthened the power of the Radicals. Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, recognized the Louisiana government, proclaimed an amnesty to all who took the oath of allegiance except those Confederates who had played a prominent part in the war, but held the door open to them if they would sue for a special pardon; and made possible the restoration of abandoned or confiscated property on terms favorable to the former owners. But the Radical majority aborted his constructive efforts, and in the end brought impeachment proceedings, which failed of success by only one vote.

Elected to the United States Senate, Hahn resigned the governorship in March, 1865. He fared no better in Washington, however, than those who had preceded him. J. Madison Wells, lieutenant governor, succeeded to the governorship. He was a native of Louisiana and a planter. One of his first acts was to tender Dr. Hugh Kennedy, for fourteen years editor of the *True Delta*, the mayoralty of New Orleans. With military acquiescence, Kennedy took his seat March 21—"a bloodless revolution," commented the *Daily Picayune* on this restoration of local self-government after six military mayors since the capture of the city.

Kennedy discharged incompetents and knaves, purged the police department of graft, effected notable economies, and in general showed himself a constructive force. The targets of his virtuous shafts trumped up charges that he was putting into office men who were unfriendly to the Union. Military authority removed him May 5, and appointed in his place, Colonel S. M. Quincey, who became a willing tool for the corruptionists. General E. R. S. Canby, who succeeded to the command of the Department of the Gulf, removed Quincey a month later, and put back Kennedy. The army had no right to cancel a civil appointment, he held. "The hypocrites and demagogues who have lately been attempting to procure for themselves and their pensioned supporters the drippings of the treasury in order to keep alive their spoil-born and nurtured parties and factions," exulted the *Daily Picayune* next

morning, "may now rest assured that venality will no longer be permitted to take the place of true loyalty and patriotism."

Kennedy encouraged the development of street railways; leased the public wharves for ten years for \$50,000 a year, a good stroke of business, for the city was unable to finance the \$250,000 of repairs needed; put new vitality behind the school system; and persuaded the Federal government to restore to their stockholders the New Orleans and Opelousas, and the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern railroads, seized by Butler. The city itself was the largest stockholder.

Pursuant to the Constitution of 1864, a state election was held November 6, 1865. Two weeks before—October 21—the *Daily Picayune* had noted that for the first time since the appearance of Farragut, not a single United States warship was in front of the city; and on November 3, it highly praised the fairness of the registration: "our city," it said, "never before had a better or more particular registry." The Democrats made almost a clean sweep. Wells was elected governor by a vote of 22,312; and many former Confederate soldiers were elected to the Legislature.

That body passed a bill directing that a municipal election be held in New Orleans, March 12, 1866. John T. Monroe, the courageous mayor who had defied Farragut and Butler, was elected on the Democratic ticket. As he had not taken the oath of amnesty, General Canby refused to allow him to be seated; but President Johnson revoked the military order, and on May 15, Monroe assumed the responsibilities of office.

This double victory for the Democrats shocked the Radicals in Washington, and alarmed the dollar patriots in Louisiana. Among the thousands of discharged Union soldiers and Northern civilians who had settled in Louisiana, as in other parts of the South, since the war, were many fine citizens, attracted to the larger opportunities there; they were important factors in development. But there were also many scoundrels who saw only a golden opportunity to loot the South by the political exploitation of the Negro.

These were the carpetbaggers—so called because all their effects were contained within the stout and gaudy valises of the day, when they arrived—a class which the *Daily Picayune* on May 6, 1868, described as “office-hunters by trade, men who are willing to live only upon the proceeds of taxes, or by the bargain and corruption growing out of a venal and irresponsible administration of public affairs, who having been thrown out of employment elsewhere by reason of their gross and exceeding vileness, have swarmed to these states where the ignorance and incompetency of the mass of the newly enfranchised makes it easy for these vagrant politicians to obtain office.” Their allies were the scalawags, or renegade Confederates, ready for any betrayal for thirty pieces of silver. The restoration of civil government on a white-electorate basis had blighted their plans.

But they took hope when Congress, on June 13, passed the Fourteenth Amendment, establishing the citizenship of the Negro; and made ratification a prerequisite to readmission into the Union. Some of the more unscrupulous saw in the reconconvocation resolution passed by the Constitutional Convention of 1864 a pretext to call that body into session again, to give the Negro the vote and take it away from the white Democrats. The anarchy to which the organization of the Freedmen’s Bureau in July pointed, keeping, as it did, the Negroes in a state of idleness and unrest, helped set the stage for skulduggery.

Judge Durell, president of the Convention, refused to have any part in this illegality: the clear intent of the reconconvocation clause, as he pointed out, was to make possible modifications in case the people rejected the proposed Constitution, and not to abrogate the will of the people expressed in their vote.⁴ But in R. K. Howell, associate justice of the state Supreme Court, the promoters of the

⁴ Eight years later Judge Durell resigned from the bench, as the *Daily Picayune* reported December 8, 1874, because of the violations of decency, honor, and justice that were expected of him.

lawless design found a man who on occasion could be as blind to the law as any criminal could wish. Elected president of the defunct Convention, he issued the call to exhume it. Governor Wells, a convert to Negro suffrage and willing to jump through the Radical hoop, supported the movement. As the *Daily Picayune* charged in its editorial of July 31, "the real and controlling motives of these reckless and unprincipled men was to regain offices and patronage which they had lost since the close of the war."

White agitators began to stir up the Negroes. Typical of them was Dr. A. P. Dostie, a dentist from the North who had settled in New Orleans before the war, had left the city when Louisiana seceded, and had returned to exult and profit as state auditor under Banks. His demagoguery took this violent direction: "We have 300,000 black men with white hearts, also 100,000 good and true Union white men, who will fight beside the black race against 300,000 hell-hound rebels."

General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the Department of the Gulf, was not in the city. Mayor Monroe appealed to his representative, General Absalom Baird, to prevent the holding of the Convention. Though it was obvious that such a gathering would precipitate violence, Baird refused to take action. In a last desperate effort to prevent bloodshed, Monroe issued a proclamation to the people, begging them to abstain from violence, and ordered the city police to stay at headquarters.

The Convention was called for noon Monday, July 30, 1866, in Mechanics' Institute, on Dryades street, between Canal and Common, on the site now occupied by the Roosevelt hotel. On that day, the *Daily Picayune* carried an editorial on the laying of the Atlantic cable, a happy consummation signalized by the interchange of messages between Queen Victoria and President Johnson.⁵ Next to the invention of movable type, it pointed out, this was the most important development in the dissemination of human thought

⁵ Their messages were dated, respectively, July 28 and July 30.

the world had seen. But it is doubtful if the achievement aroused much response in the paper's readers—the four walls of their minds, that day, were hung with too much dread.

Lacking a quorum, the conventionists adjourned to 1 P.M.

By that time a large crowd of white men had gathered in the street. A Negro procession, carrying a United States flag and strutting to a fife and a drum, marched to the Mechanics' Institute and raised a cheer. Suddenly, fighting broke out between whites and blacks. Clubs swung, brickbats flew, pistols cracked. The Negroes made a break for the building, forcing their way through the wide doors in panic. Responding to the alarm, the police charged into the building, shooting. Three times they were driven back by hot lead. The streets were in a frenzy. From the windows of the Institute, Negroes, dropping like nuts in a windstorm, fled and were pursued and killed by enraged whites. The rioting lasted several hours. By the time it had burned itself out, General Baird arrived with troops from Jackson Barracks, three miles below Canal street. He said he thought the Convention was to be held that evening. He was the only man in the city who did. He declared martial law. The casualties, as closely as they could be compiled, were: on the Convention side, 38 killed (among them Dr. Dostie), 146 wounded, most of them Negroes; on the Democrats' side, 1 killed, 10 policemen wounded.

Baird patrolled the streets, which were as quiet as a picnic grounds after the crowd has gone home. "It is a very amusing commentary on the pretended necessity for martial law," said the *Daily Picayune* August 2, "that the soldiers detached for duty are simply watching each other, and the ordinary police take care of the rest of the city and find no difficulty."

In a few weeks cholera displaced politics in public apprehension. All we can do is whistle to keep our courage up, said the *Daily Picayune* August 21. "Let the whole community whistle—whistle day or night—Yankee Doodle or the Bonnie Blue Flag—it does not make a bit of difference." A four-ounce loaf of bread sold for

five cents; there was a shortage of ice because ice-laden ships were afraid to go to the plague-ridden city.

There was tremendous excitement in Congress. Radicals made the riot a springboard to more power. To justify what they had done and what they planned to do, they inspired the most outrageous propaganda against Louisiana. For months, for years, newspapers all over the North reeked with atrocity stories on nearly every phase of Southern life. The lies were so fantastic, so impossible, that one wonders they were given any credence; but the depths of mob psychology have not yet been plumbed.

Bayonets

A SPECIAL Congressional committee, sent to New Orleans to “investigate,” began its labors by asking Mayor Monroe what he had to say for himself. It examined 197 witnesses. The majority report characterized the conduct of the whites as “fiendish,” and justified the reconconvocation. The minority report proclaimed the illegality of the rump Convention, and said the riot was precipitated by the Negroes.

There was no other attempt to reconvoke the Convention. There was no need. Congress passed more stringent laws than the rumpers could have devised; passed them, not only for Louisiana, but for the entire South. So Louisiana became the principal battlefield in the South’s long struggle against carpetbag Reconstruction: on the streets of the South’s largest city—political, economic, and intellectual leader in fact as well as by tradition—would be decided the issues on which depended, more than on the bloody field of Gettysburg, the future of this nation.¹

By the Act of March 2, 1867, the South was divided into ten military districts, each under the command of an army officer; states seeking readmission to the Union were required to adopt new constitutions drawn by delegates elected without prejudice of

¹ *Daily Picayune* editorial, January 2, 1873: “The cause of Louisiana to-day is the issue of republican government in America.”

race; the Fourteenth Amendment must be adopted. By the Act of March 23, the military commanders were ordered to register, prior to September 1, all persons entitled to vote.

General Sheridan lost no time in purging the city, parish, and state governments of the men objectionable to the reconstructionists, and putting in Radicals or those who would do the bidding of Radicals. He removed Wells from the governorship, and replaced him with Flanders. This brought forth a dreadful pun by the *Daily Picayune*: General Sheridan, it said, "kept boring Wells till he reached Flanders." He threw out Mayor Monroe, and put Edward Heath in his place.

General Whitfield S. Hancock, who succeeded Sheridan several months later, introduced fairer policies, under which some of the more meretricious appointees were removed, and their predecessors returned to office.² But the blackwashing—in the *Daily Picayune*'s pungent phrase—had been done. The state registration, according to that newspaper's report of August 16, 1867, totaled 82,865 Negroes, 44,723 whites. In New Orleans, the figures were 14,805 Negroes, 14,865 whites. At last, exulted the *Tribune*, Negro newspaper, the whites were under the heel of the blacks!

Yellow fever struck so hard that year, that moving day, which falls on October 1 in New Orleans, was postponed a month.

At the election of September 27, ninety-eight delegates were chosen to draw up a new Constitution for Louisiana. All but two were Radicals, half of them were Negroes. No Thanksgiving proclamation was issued that year in Louisiana.

Sitting from November 23, 1867, to March 9, 1868, the Convention adopted a Constitution which made allegiance to the United States paramount, disfranchised Confederates in wholesale num-

² General Hancock, when he returned to New Orleans for a visit in 1878, was greeted by this *Daily Picayune* editorial on February 10: "There is no man north of Mason and Dixon's line dearer to the people of our city and state than that of General W. S. Hancock. . . . Had his noble efforts not been thwarted by his then superior in command, we would long ago have placed Louisiana in the proud position she has but lately attained, and saved us from the long years of oppression and suffering we have been forced to endure." In 1880 the *Daily Picayune* boomed Hancock for the presidency.

bers, and established the equality of Negroes with whites. The Constitution was adopted April 16-17 by a vote of 51,737 to 39,076.

The same election carried the Republican ticket, headed by Henry Clay Warmoth for governor, and the Negro Oscar J. Dunn for lieutenant governor. The Legislature was half Negro, and the Republicans held the majority in both Houses, 56 to 45 in the Lower, 20 to 16 in the Upper. New Orleans, however, elected a Democratic mayor, John R. Conway.

Handsome, talented, and magnetic, Warmoth could have led Louisiana to great accomplishments had he not been such a strong partisan. Born in Illinois in 1842, he was admitted to the bar when he was nineteen, and was made district attorney for the eighteenth judicial district of Missouri a year later. He entered the Union army, and by his ability rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He saw service at Vicksburg, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge; took part in the Texas campaign; and, under Banks, acted as judge of the military court in the Department of the Gulf. Over the Negroes, he developed a great ascendancy. They elected him, in 1865, to represent them in Washington, and raised the money to send him there. When he was elected governor, he was twenty-six.

The *Daily Picayune's* editorial of May 1 expresses the attitude of the better-class whites towards the Negro. "We can not blame the negro for wanting [the right to vote and hold office]," it said. "It is very true that it is a pandora box for him—that ballot box—but so it is for us." Pointing out that loyal Louisianians had been at fault in leaving the Negro to Radical guardianship, it said they must now encourage and help the Negro of Conservative or Democratic tendencies, for "he is a resident of our state. . . . He is not, like the itinerant political loafer who has squatted here for the present, interested solely in sucking our blood. . . . Then deal generously and kindly with him. Reason with him. . . . Furnish

him with information. Encourage him in the desire to educate his children.”³

That expression is typical of the constructive spirit of the *Daily Picayune* during a period when violence and abuse characterized most public utterances. It did not waste its efforts or weaken confidence in its leadership with bland assertion. Its appeal was to the highest and the best; and its light, through those dark years, was always a promise that somewhere in the future the going would be good. It showed the city, the state, and the South what they might do, by an aroused effort, in economic directions; its editorials on agriculture, on livestock, and on manufacturing were of uplifting courage; its discussion of drainage and sewerage problems, of river-channel improvements, and of railroad development was an Excelsior shout.

But it was not afraid to tell the truth when plain speaking was needed to emphasize a point and show the destructive results of carpetbagery. Surrounded as it was by enemies, it did not hesitate to call them and their works by the right names when occasion demanded.⁴

For instance, in its comment on the fact that no preparations had been made to celebrate Independence Day in Louisiana in 1867, it said, July 4, that there was no reason for the observance in a state in which there is “no civil government except by tolerance of a supreme military rule.” The Fourth will again be celebrated, it continued, “when the wrongs done in contempt of the doctrines

³ Another typical expression, in the *Daily Picayune*'s editorial of November 8, 1870: “They [Negroes] desire equality and equity under the law in all particulars, but they do not desire that the association of blacks and whites should be regulated by law, or that it should be controlled by any other decrees or influences than those which regulate the social intercourse of all people. . . . The whites have no aversion whatever to seeing colored people become their equals by any lawful means, equals in refinement, equals in education, equals in morals, equals in the possession and enjoyment of all the fruits and gains of civilized life.”

⁴ *Daily Picayune* editorial, May 24, 1874: “We criticise without vulgarity, praise without favor, and comment without intemperance.”

of the Declaration of Independence are repaired and atoned for by securities against the reign of violence over law; when it can no longer be said that there is power anywhere in free America to repeat the crimes against liberty which that Declaration charged against King George; when great masses of the people have no longer the right to say that they are taxed without representation, have troops quartered among them who are protected against the laws of the states by 'military, independent of and superior to the civil power,' that they have been 'deprived of the benefits of trial by jury,' and have been systematically 'oppressed' by taking away [their] charters, abolishing [their] most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the power of [their] governments."

On July 22, 1868, the *Daily Picayune* said: "the Senate of the state is about to join the House in adopting a system of plunder, which is the most flagitious ever undertaken by a legislative body, and which makes the wassail and 'rough stealing' of the Convention and Legislature of 1864, so heartily denounced by . . . the most pronounced old Radicals, appear the quintessence of honesty and economy."

"We tell the members of the Legislature that they must stop this wholesale spoliation of a people in whom most of them have no interest, and to whom they are for the most part strangers," said the *Daily Picayune* February 26, 1871, "and we tell the people of New Orleans that submission to such outrageous measures is neither the part of wisdom nor true manhood."

The Legislature which recently adjourned "was the most shameless exponent of all that is vicious, immoral and degraded," the newspaper said on March 4 of that year. It was "inexpressibly corrupt."

Louisiana was readmitted into the Union, June 25, 1868. General Robert C. Buchanan, who had succeeded Hancock, announced that the need for military authority in Louisiana had passed as soon as the Legislature, which convened June 29, adopted the Fourteenth Amendment; but the troops were not withdrawn. The Leg-

islature elected William Pitt Kellogg and John S. Harris United States senators. They were Louisiana's first representatives in the Upper House of the national Congress since the resignation of Slidell and Benjamin in 1861.

Not daunted by the Republican sweep in the state elections, the Democrats organized for the presidential campaign of 1868, and carried the state for Seymour and Blair, against the Republican nominees, Grant and Colfax.

Aroused by the threatening attitude of the Negroes, the Louisiana Democrats had organized, under the leadership of Judge Alcibiade de Blanc in Franklin on May 22, 1867, the Knights of the White Camellia. Later, its headquarters were moved to New Orleans. This organization was suggested by the Ku Klux Klan, created in June, 1866, in Tennessee, but it never adopted the mummary or used the terroristic methods of the K.K.K. The Ku Klux Klan, said the *Daily Picayune*, April 11, 1868, "is all folly and does an infinitude of harm. Not the least is that the young men who thus disguise themselves and travel the country to frighten simple negroes and traveling people, who may or may not be Radicals . . . are themselves neglecting the duty of planting corn and working it." The preamble of the White Camellia's manual stated that "the Radical party, the freedmen and the colored population of the whole republic have coalesced against the white race"; and its purpose was to rally the whites against this usurpation. Especially effective was this organization in the country sections, where the Negroes, greatly outnumbering the whites, were being goaded to violence by unscrupulous agitators. There were some dreadful clashes between the races in the latter part of 1868 in Bossier, St. Landry, St. Bernard, and Orleans parishes—outbursts precipitated by the Negroes who were threatening to massacre the whites. "Intimidation," charged Warmoth, and asked that the government put troops at his disposal to repress "violence and disorder," thus re-establishing the armed bondage from which Louisiana had been released only a few months before.

By 1870 the Legislature had voted the governor despotic powers. It passed a law allowing a man to vote after ten days' residence in any parish—that is, if he was allowed to vote at all. It set up the system of the Returning Board, comprising the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and two state senators by name, John Lynch and T. C. Anderson—vacancies to be filled by the board—to proclaim who had been elected after the vote had been counted. It put the Metropolitan Police Force under his sole command, taking it from all control by legal tribunals. Before the organization of the Metropolitans, the highest New Orleans had paid for its policing in any one year was \$551,990, in 1867. Under the Metropolitans, according to the *Daily Picayune* of December 27, 1870, the cost was \$800,000, a quarter of a million dollars more than St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, or Baltimore, all of larger population, paid. Most carefully did this Legislature—its venality openly charged in the press and on the floor of the House—prepare for the carpetbag-scalawag looting of the state: a carnival of political profligacy made possible by the exploitation of the Negro with the blessing of that corruption known as the government of Ulysses S. Grant.

The ignorance and the frivolity of that Legislature expressed itself in such solemnities as a proposed amendment to an immigration bill to include five hundred monkeys, and a proposed oath in a school bill to “take whisky straight without regard to race, color or previous condition.” Many of the school directors, under the system set up, could not write their names. The *Daily Picayune* on March 14, 1869, referred to “the polluted courts of justice,” and said the people must “awake to the necessity of driving the money changers and false Scribes and Pharisees from the temple.”

On March 1, 1869, the *Daily Picayune* said there was “no state in the Union, and no city, whose finances are in a sounder condition.” The state debt was \$5,000,000, the city debt was relatively insignificant. Population was increasing, new buildings were being erected, and business was advancing in seven-league boots. By

1872, the year Warmoth, who had fallen out with his party, was impeached, the state debt had risen to nearly \$50,000,000. The state expenses of 1870 exceeded the income by more than \$1,000,000. Most of this money had been frittered away. Before the war, the largest amount ever appropriated for an ordinary session of the Legislature was \$100,000; the Assembly of 1869 cost \$264,278; that of 1871 cost \$958,956, an average of \$113.50 a day for each member. According to Ella Lonn, Warmoth, with an \$8000 salary, stated that he made more than \$100,000 during the first year of his administration, and by 1872 was reported to be worth \$1,000,000.⁵

Taxes soared. They were 18 cents a pound on coffee, 10 cents a pound on sugar, 25 cents a pound on tobacco, 10 cents a yard on calico, 50 cents to \$1 on a pair of shoes. The real estate tax was 14½ mills on the dollar; and real estate declined in value from 1870 to 1871 at least 25 per cent. Forty-acre tracts of the richest land were sold by the taxgatherers for \$1. Jefferson, a city of "quiet streets and handsome residences, embowered in orange groves," as the *Daily Picayune* pictured it on December 14, 1866, was, in 1870, forced, against its wishes, to consolidate with New Orleans, which had a higher tax rate and paid half the taxes of the state. Jefferson was invaded by a force of five hundred Metropolitan police and treated like conquered territory.

"We find every channel of trade paralyzed" as a result of the machinations of "political adventurers, backed by a United States judge who has called in the assistance of United States troops to execute his decrees," said a document of December 13, 1872, signed by representatives of sixty-two firms in the North doing business in New Orleans.

There was dreadful want. Crime in New Orleans, said the *Daily Picayune*, November 25, 1868, "increased threefold" in the previous three months. Dull was the day in which the papers did not chronicle a murder, a shooting or cutting affray, or a major robbery.

⁵ *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868* (New York, 1918), 90-101,

Never had there been such an orgy of drinking and gambling—the Legislature licensed everybody who paid the graft. From the *Daily Picayune* of July 28, 1871, comes this picture: “anywhere for nearly a mile along one of our great streets, a man could stand at a corner and pitch a rock into half a dozen saloons. Outside were crowds roping in strangers and the inexperienced; within was a dense mass of men and boys, thick clouds of smoke, a din of balls, dice and cards, much profanity and loud talking, a great rattling of glasses and a formidable guzzling of villainous and nauseating compounds. The beast of Bengal was fought with fierce onslaught all night and all day, and the street was in an overlasting uproar.”

Symbolizing its irrefragable devotion to Southern principles, New Orleans, in the fall of the discouraging year 1870, less than two weeks after the news of the great leader's death hung the city with mourning, raised a fund which in 1884 erected the Lee monument in Tivoli Circle, which now carries the name of the Confederate general.

A split in the Republican ranks in 1871, when S. B. Packard, the United States marshal, challenged Warmoth's control of the Convention to elect a Central Committee, thickened the atmosphere of lawlessness and tightened the military grip on New Orleans. Packard had the support of Lieutenant Governor Dunn and House Speaker George W. Carter; Warmoth allied himself with P. B. S. Pinchback, Negro, whose Radicalism had raised him from the workhouse in 1862 to the state Senate in 1868. A hundred soldiers, with two Gatling guns, took position in the customhouse August 9, the day the Convention opened there. Commercial business suspended; an immense crowd jammed Canal street.

Two conventions were held, the Packard gathering in the customhouse with 70 delegates, and Lieutenant Governor Dunn in the chair; the Warmoth, in Turner Hall, at Lafayette and Dryades streets, with 108 delegates, and Pinchback in the chair. Warmoth accused Speaker Carter of “corruption, dishonesty and licentious-

ness"; Carter accused the governor of receiving "bribes" and of being "the greatest living practical liar." Warmoth still held the balance of power, and when Dunn died November 22—from congestion of the brain, according to the coroner; from poison, insisted rumor—he called the Senate into extra session and had Pinchback elected its president and ex officio lieutenant governor.

Troops again marched into the city January 2, 1872, when the Assembly met. Business again suspended, and by March, New Orleans took on a warlike appearance, its streets filled with soldiers, policemen, and armed citizens. Behind guards, the Warmoth wing of the Legislature sat in Mechanics' Institute. Carter and his adherents met over the Gem saloon, in Royal street near Canal, protected by a cloud of deputies and partisans armed with guns seized in a raid on the United States armory at Jackson Square. A mass meeting assembled in Lafayette Square on the evening of January 8 at the call of the Democratic Parish Committee. The crowd in the square and the near-by streets was estimated at 15,000. Democrats, customhouse factionists and Negro Republicans addressed the meeting, and demanded Warmoth's resignation. They accomplished nothing. The Legislature burned up half its allotted time in frivolities before it organized. It accomplished nothing. "No hoar frost ever gladdened the sight of a fever-stricken people with more sincere joy," said the *Daily Picayune* March 1, 1872, "than the lowered flag which told that the epidemic of legalized fraud was at an end." But there remained the epizootic, which carried off many horses, stopped streetcar lines.

Denouncing President Grant in June, 1872, Warmoth, who then called himself a Liberal Republican, joined the Democrats. The fusion put out this ticket: governor, John McEnery; lieutenant governor, David B. Penn (Warmoth); attorney general, H. N. Ogden; auditor, James Graham; secretary of state, Samuel Armistead (Negro); superintendent of public education, R. M. Lusher.

Packard, who had weaned Pinchback away from Warmoth, put

out this fusion ticket: governor, W. P. Kellogg (customhouse); lieutenant governor, C. C. Antoine (Negro, customhouse); secretary of state, P. G. Deslondes (Pinchback); auditor, Charles Clinton (customhouse); attorney general, A. P. Field (customhouse); superintendent of public education, Brown (Negro, Pinchback); congressman-at-large, Pinchback.

At the election of November 4, the vote announced was 128,402, as compared with 106,542 in 1870. There is little doubt that the McEnery ticket won, but it was hoist with the petard of its ally, Warmoth; for the Returning Board of his designing split into McEnery and Kellogg factions. Warmoth then signed the election bill, providing for a new Returning Board, which had been passed by the last Legislature, but had not yet been promulgated. Under the bill, the board was to be chosen by the Senate; but Warmoth, contending that the Act took effect when the Legislature was not sitting, appointed the board. The Senate, however, thought differently, and when the Legislature was convened in special session, December 9, it elected another board. And so there were four Returning Boards.

From this confusion emerged two different state governments and two different Assemblies, both groups claiming to represent the will of the people.

The anti-Warmoth faction won control of the Legislature, which sat in Mechanics' Institute, and voted to impeach the governor. It proclaimed the election of Kellogg and Antoine by 72,890 and 70,127 votes, as compared with 55,249 and 57,568 for McEnery and Penn. Pinchback acted as governor, after the impeachment, until January 13, when Kellogg was inaugurated. Warmoth convened his partisans in Lyceum Hall. McEnery was inaugurated January 13 in Lafayette Square. Kellogg was recognized by Grant, and impeachment charges against Warmoth were dropped after his term expired.

Exciting weeks followed. Predominant in the city and state councils, the Negroes became increasingly more arrogant, more abusive, more threatening towards the whites, attacking and rob

bing them even in the presence of the police. The Metropolitan police were reorganized as the Metropolitan Brigade, erected into a still more despotic machine to be used in any part of the state by the governor. It was largely composed of Negroes. In another year Kellogg would announce that the state treasury was empty; that Louisiana could not meet the interest on its debt.⁶ Seeking new sources of revenue, the Legislature incorporated a company known as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, with authority to seize all animals found in the streets, charge the owners \$5 a day, and after eight days sell them. The company even seized horses that owners left at the curb while they went into a building to transact business.⁷ The New Orleans debt rose to \$20,000,000. The city's tax rate was 30 mills in 1873, and 27½ in 1874—double what it had been under Warmoth. The city's 7 per cent bonds dropped to 48 cents.

On March 1, 1873, the people, in mass meeting assembled, declared martial law would be preferable to the conditions prevailing.⁸ On the night of the fifth, the McEnery state militia of loyal citizens, led by General Frederick N. Ogden, fought the "Battle

⁶ *Daily Picayune*, in an editorial of July 27, 1873, totaled appropriations and donations by the Radical Legislatures as follows:

1868	\$ 8,074,452
1869	\$ 5,844,206
1870	\$29,746,619
1871	\$23,643,506
1872	\$ 9,009,178
1873	\$ 5,307,086

It said \$50,000,000 was also taken from the city administration of New Orleans.

See Appendix C for the bitter doggerel which the *Daily Picayune* presented September 18, 1868, on "Taxes."

⁷ Leonard Sewell resigned from the management of the Society. *Daily Picayune*, June 11, 1874, quoted him as follows: "Cattle is forcibly seized when under the care of boys or owners, when grazing in open lots in the suburban districts. Cattle, when tied to a stake in open spaces, are cut away from their fastenings, and the stock seized . . . the poor who own a mule, a horse or a cow, upon which they depend for a living, are mulcted of their monies most unjustly by these acts of violence." The law was declared unconstitutional, July 3, 1874, by the Fifth District Court. This "legislative abomination," said the judge, was a device "for the acquisition of wealth by wilful outrages on the personal liberty and properties of the people." *Daily Picayune*, July 4.

⁸ Commenting on similar expressions made before this, the *Daily Picayune* in an edi-

of the Cabildo" with the Kellogg police, in an effort to seize the government. The principal attack was against the Third Precinct Station, then housed in the Cabildo. Sixty-five men attacked from Jackson Square at 9:30 P.M. The police returned the fire, and General Ogden was slightly wounded. The attackers sought shelter under the walls of St. Louis Cathedral, and re-formed, with reinforcements. In greatly superior numbers the Metropolitans, better armed and with a cannon, swung into action. For several minutes the engagement resembled a pitched battle. To the severity of the fire, the *Daily Picayune's* report of March 7 bears testimony: "Several of the iron columns of the balcony of the building at the corner of St. Peter and Chartres were perforated—one being knocked down and broken into splinters. The railing of Jackson Square is also broken in several places, and here and there the buildings near it were clipped. The trees in the Square were fairly riddled with bullets, and the ground is strewn with broken branches." Three men were killed, eight wounded. While the fighting was under way, United States troops arrived and ordered the citizens and the militia to disperse. This they did, not wishing to fight the United States government.

Though the coup failed, it showed the determination of the people. It also showed the necessity for better organization next time.

The morning after the Battle of the Cabildo, a hundred Metropolitans invaded the McEnery Legislature, and made prisoners of the members. They were held in the drunkards' cells for a day, then released. The distinguished Confederate general, James Longstreet of South Carolina, led this raid. After the war he had settled in New Orleans, joined the Radicals, and been made surveyor of customs, a position he held from 1867 to 1873; he was also put in command of the Metropolitan Brigade.

Kellogg and his "bayonet Legislature," as the *Daily Picayune*

torial of January 10, 1872, said: "We would rather bear years of local misrule than a month of military despotism," for martial law is "the substitution of mere physical force for law."

called it, at last had a clear field. But the eventuations caused a swing in the sentiment of the North, not only towards Louisiana, but towards the whole South. Pointing out that "The very basis of American freedom is local self-government," the New York *Herald* was quoted by the *Daily Picayune* on March 10 in an attack on Grant's policies. "The greatest tyrants often talk loudly of liberty while they are destroying it insidiously," it said. "Only think how monstrous it is that one man can subvert the machinery of government, defeat the will of the people and throw a state into anarchy!" The New York *World* denounced Kellogg as a usurper. The Battle of the Cabildo showed, according to an article quoted by the *Daily Picayune*, March 12, that his authority could not stand unless "propped up by Federal bayonets." His government, it continued, had shown "helpless imbecility and cowardice."

President Grant ordered that troops be stationed throughout Louisiana. Flaunting its arrogance, the carpetbag government established the state capitol in the \$1,000,000 St. Louis hotel, a massive, four-story structure which stood on St. Louis street between Royal and Chartres streets from 1840 to 1915. Slaves had been auctioned on a block near one of the entrances. The Negroes and their white abettors made this building the huge block on which white liberties were trafficked away, and the spoil of the state divided. Weapons were distributed to Negroes, but guns and ammunition belonging to white persons in New Orleans were seized on the streets and in stores—even hunting pieces.⁹

⁹ *Daily Picayune*, June 13, 1874: "The fact that Ward's gang of negro ruffians took with them to Grant parish a full supply of muskets, with bayonets and ammunition, is not an isolated fact by any means. There is something peculiarly ominous about the news to a similar effect from every quarter of the state. It begins to appear that the aggressions of the negroes here, as manifested in the theaters, saloons and public conveyances, forms the preliminary to an organized movement designed to develop and culminate during the campaign just now opening. Scarcely a day passes but we hear of arms being purchased here and of arms having made their appearance in the country. Scarcely an hour goes by without revealing to the careful observer of events fresh evidences that the impending struggle is likely to assume an unusually bitter form, if, indeed, it do not pass into violence and bloodshed." And so on, for two thirds of a column.

Liberation

RIVER FLOODS in 1874 put 2,300,000 acres of land in thirty-one of the state's fifty-three parishes under water, a disaster immediately affecting nearly half the state's population, according to the *Daily Picayune* of May 2 and 3. To relieve the distress, the people of New Orleans scraped thousands of dollars from their own want before the Federal government earmarked \$500,000 for that purpose.

When the torment was at the crest, the Knights of the White Camellia was reorganized, April 27, in Opelousas, into the White League. The movement spread. On July 2, the Crescent City White League of New Orleans, of which General Ogden was president, published in the *Daily Picayune*, its platform which, after describing the "execrable oligarchy of the most ignorant and profligate negroes, leagued with the most dangerous class of rapacious whites, the scum of society," declared "our fixed determination," while not interfering with the legal rights of the Negro or any other race, is "to maintain our own legal rights by all means that may become necessary for that purpose, and to preserve them at all hazards."

The White League in New Orleans numbered about 2800; throughout the state, 14,000. Its members drilled with grim earnestness.

On August 24 the Democratic National Committee met in Baton

Rouge, denounced Kellogg as a usurper, and declared that the next election must be free and fair.

Revolt against carpetbag oppression flared into open violence in different parts of the state. At Coushatta, for instance, seventeen parish officials were killed on August 30, presumably by White Leaguers, who beat the Radical terrorists to the punch.

The New Orleans police planned to seize a shipment of arms aboard the steamer "Mississippi," consigned to the White League. In the city's newspapers of Sunday, September 13, appeared this call, said to have been written by Dr. J. Dickson Bruns, and signed by fifty-two leading citizens:

"CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS.

"For nearly two years, you have been the silent but indignant sufferers of outrage after outrage, heaped upon you by an usurping government.

"One by one, your dearest rights have been trampled upon, until at last, in the supreme height of its insolence, this mockery of a republican government has dared even to deny you that right so solemnly guaranteed by the very Constitution of the United States, which in Article 2 of the Amendments, declares that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.'

"In that same sacred instrument, to whose inviolate perpetuity your fathers pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, it was also declared that even Congress shall make no law abridging 'the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.' It now remains for us to ascertain whether this right any longer remains to us.

"We therefore call upon you, on Monday morning, the 14th of September, 1874, to close your places of business, without a single exception, and at 11 o'clock A.M. to assemble at the Clay statue, on Canal street, and in tones loud enough to be heard throughout the length and breadth of the land, Declare that You Are Of Right, Ought To Be, And Mean To Be Free."

For fourteen years, the heroic bronze effigy of Henry Clay had stood on its granite pedestal, surrounded by a hexagonal iron fence on Canal street where St. Charles and Royal streets enter it; for twenty-seven years more would continue to gaze across the South's mightiest thoroughfare, before retiring to the sylvan calm of Lafayette Square, its work of keeping alive the spirit of democracy, when the nation needed this uplift so sorely, done: a vitalizing influence on men's thoughts—in the words of the *Daily Picayune*, "the realized ideal of an American patriot."

Five thousand men gathered at Henry Clay's feet. Robert H. Marr, president of the Baton Rouge meeting, presided. They thundered approval of resolutions denouncing the existing state government as "arbitrary, unjust and oppressive," proclaiming Kellogg a "usurper" who could maintain his position only "through Federal interference," and demanding "his immediate abdication."

A committee of five carried these resolutions to the state capitol, but Kellogg refused to see the delegation.

"We'll fight! Call out the troops!" shouted the men when the committee returned with that report. They disbanded on that note, and went home to arm themselves.

Governor McEnery was not in the state then, so Lieutenant Governor Penn took charge. He issued a proclamation calling on the people to drive the usurpers from power. Soon, 8400 men were ready to take the field. General Ogden was in supreme command; Colonel W. J. Behan led the White League, Colonel John B. Angell the First Louisiana Regiment, part of the McEnery militia, and Major John Augustin a large group of citizens, many of them former Confederate soldiers, who clamored to strike a blow for liberty.

By 3 P.M., Ogden had laid out his line on Poydras street, a defensive line from the river to Carondelet street, with barricades of logs, barrels, paving blocks, and horse cars.

General Longstreet and General A. S. Badger, the chief of police, were in command of the Kellogg forces—some 3000 Negro

militiamen at the State House, several hundred Metropolitans in the Cabildo, a troop of mounted police in Orleans (Pirates) and Exchange (Cabildo) alleys adjoining the cathedral, and artillery in Jackson Square. In the customhouse were about 150 Federal soldiers. Kellogg hid behind their guns—as did several hundred Negroes seeking the safest place they could find.

About 4 P.M., Longstreet and Badger led a force of five hundred Metropolitans, with six pieces of artillery, to Canal street and took position between the customhouse and the river. The thirty-five foot limestone shaft that is the Liberty monument, erected in 1891, marks the center of the engagement. They opened fire. The Ogden forces gave the old rebel yell, and replied. General Longstreet turned pale when he heard that well-remembered shout. Under the farseeing eyes of Henry Clay, the defenders of Southern Democracy charged. Badger fell, badly wounded. A White Leaguer, hot with battle, rushed up to kill him, but Badger gave the Masonic sign of distress and was saved. The Metropolitans wavered, broke, and fled to the customhouse, abandoning two Gatling guns and a twelve-pound cannon. Ogden withdrew to his position in Poydras street. He had been in the thick of the fighting—his horse had been killed under him.

The losses of the Metropolitans were 11 killed, 60 wounded; of the liberty fighters, 16 killed, 45 wounded.

Thousands of persons watched the battle. The Carrollton Rowing Club had scheduled a regatta for that afternoon. The steamboats which were to carry the crowd to Carrollton waited on the Canal street river front until the fight was over, and their decks were solid with men, women, and children, tense spectators of the drama. Bullets struck the steamboats; a cannon ball damaged the machinery of one of them. Every window overlooking the battlefield was crowded. Newsboys darted between the lines of armed men almost to the moment of firing. They reaped a harvest of thrown-away weapons when the Metropolitan rout began.

Next morning the State House surrendered. The Cabildo, ar-

senal, and Jackson Square also fell. Kellogg still sulked in the customhouse. "FINISHED" proclaimed the largest newshead the *Daily Picayune* had ever used, 24-point type, black-face, which occupied the full width of one column. "So ends the Kellogg regime," said its editorial. "Big, inflated, insolent, overbearing, it collapsed at one touch of honest indignation."

Penn was formally inducted into office that afternoon. Through streets packed with a jubilant citizenry, he led a parade of triumph from his home in St. Charles street to the State House. The day before, he had issued a proclamation to the Negroes of Louisiana assuring them that "no harm is meant towards you, your property or your rights." There was no disorder; the city was under strict police control. At midnight, September 16, Governor McEnery reached New Orleans.

So did General W. H. Emory, U.S.A. For Grant had ordered a concentration of troops and ships of war to New Orleans to support Kellogg. On Emory's demand, the McEnery government stepped down. Kellogg, restored to power on the eighteenth, reorganized his army of oppression, the Metropolitan Brigade, and carpetbag thievery was again driven home by Federal bayonets.

Rising with indestructible determination from this blow, the Democrats attacked the fall campaign with undiminished enthusiasm. Conditions were so orderly that the seven armed vessels weighed anchor after six weeks, and the troops relaxed their vigilance. The relations between the people and the military forces had been pleasant. The election of November 2 was quiet. The Democrats believed they had won a comfortable majority of seats in the Legislature; but the Returning Board, of which J. Madison Wells was president, counted them out. It certified to 45 Republicans and 52 Democrats, and refused admission to 5 Democrats.

When the Legislature assembled, January 4, 1875, the Democrat, L. A. Wiltz of New Orleans, by a quick and unexpected maneuver, was elected Speaker, and the oath of office was administered en masse to the House, including the five Democratic members not

recognized by the Returning Board. A crowd gathered, pistols gleamed. But order was finally restored. In the afternoon, General P. R. de Trobriand, who commanded the Federal forces at the State House, entered with soldiers, fully armed and with fixed bayonets, and forcibly ejected these five Democrats and four others.

Kellogg, who had given him this order, camped on the field of battle, but he was not altogether happy in his victory. From the *Daily Picayune* of the next morning, we learn:

"The State House building last night presented not only the appearance of a besieged citadel, but also that of a vast, overcrowded and poorly supplied soup house.

"Immediately after the adjournment of the Radical Legislature, Mr. Kellogg took up permanent quarters in his private office, where he was waited upon by a special committee, who stated that, as it seemed undesirable for anyone inside to leave the State House, provisions were necessary as none were on hand.

"An order was at once dispatched to a prominent restaurateur to furnish a plentiful supply of eatables for all hands. In a short time, however, the messenger, dispatched upon the business, returned aghast, and announced that their credit was not good and that cash for the articles ordered must be forthcoming.

"This announcement caused great consternation, and some of the biggest feeders began to hint at the necessity of their leaving the building to satisfy the cravings of hunger. A subscription list was thereupon handed around, which, after some delay, footed up a sufficient amount to secure what was actually needed.

"The arrangements for lodging were, in many cases, of the most primitive description . . . the mass of the members had to hang themselves up, as it were, around on the desks."

General Sheridan, sent South to report on conditions, wired to President Grant that terrorism existed, that the White Leaguers were "banditti" who should be court-martialed, and that "I am not afraid."

This stunning avowal of courage was the comic relief in that

tragic period. Joyfully, New Orleans seized the phrase and tossed it about. In a Canal street show window, appeared a statuette of a ridiculous bulldog, a placard at its feet proclaiming "I am not afraid." From far and wide the people gathered to look and laugh.

Formal denial of Sheridan's charges that the people of Louisiana were "breathing vengeance to all lawful authority" was published over the signatures of leading citizens, including Archbishop N. J. Perché of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop J. P. B. Wilmer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Bishop J. C. Keener of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Rabbi J. K. Gutheim of the Temple Sinai.

A subcommittee of the United States Senate, consisting of two Republicans and one Democrat, after a visit to New Orleans, reported, January 14, that the White Leagues were ordinary political clubs, not secret and not armed except in New Orleans where the respectable citizens and property holders were banded together for self-protection only; and upheld the struggle of the people for home rule. "The Conservatives of Louisiana do not propose to fight the Federal government," it said. They had no "hostility to the colored people because they are colored," it continued, and their attitude was based on the belief that they had been defrauded out of the elections of 1872 and 1874, and the belief that the state government "has been to the last degree destructive and corrupt." It added: "What they seek is peace and an opportunity for prosperity. To that end, they will submit to any form of government that will afford them just protection."

The main committee then visited New Orleans. On February 23 it brought in a report finding the White Leagues to be military organizations, and the Democrats to be coercive in their political methods.

The next year, another Congressional committee visited New Orleans to investigate conditions. It framed the "Wheeler Compromise," named after one of its members, which provided that Kellogg should retain the governorship and that the House mem-

bers whose status was in controversy should submit their claims to the arbitrament of the committee. A caucus of the Conservatives, or Democrats, accepted this; but an indignation meeting, estimated at seven thousand strong, met at Clay statue, February 6, at the call of McEnery, and denounced those who had "sold out their constituents." The compromise was ratified at a meeting of the Legislature, March 24.

Economic desperation stalked the state. The panic of 1873 and the flood of 1874—major disasters—became only the background against which the cruel tragedy of carpetbag looting was projected. Nearly every bill in the Legislature was a swindle. Trade left New Orleans; by 1875, six thousand stores and houses in that city were for rent. The debt of New Orleans was \$25,000,000, almost double what it had been when the carpetbag regime began; delinquent taxes totaled \$4,100,000.¹ There were not half a dozen honestly governed parishes in the state. Plaquemines—"the empire parish"—for instance, before the war had \$6000 in the treasury and did not owe a dime; in 1875, it owed \$93,000, yet \$25,000 a year in taxes had been collected since 1868. The judiciary was corrupt; roads were neglected, levees were going to pieces, the schools were a fantastic farce. But the politicoes reveled in wealth. One wonders how society could have held together under such conditions.

As a result of the Wheeler compromise, the Democrats secured a majority in the House, but the Senate was Republican. When the Legislature met January 3, 1876, the House moved to abolish the Returning Board, and to impeach Kellogg, but the Senate nullified these efforts.

That was another election year—1876. Happy augury in the centennial of American liberty, the term of Grant, who had acted

¹ *Daily Picayune* editorial, May 12, 1874: "The taxes of this city are two and a half per cent on an assessment of \$130,000,000. Even at this rate, it is estimated that the amount collected will not defray the expenses of the city administration more than four months. But the assessment is nearly double the present real productive value of the property taxed. It is affirmed by competent judges that the present real property in the city does not exceed \$70,000,000. . . . Ruin and confiscation must attend the enforcement of the present rate of taxation."

so unjustly and so despotically towards Louisiana, was running out. The victims of carpetbagging determined to win back self-government at all costs.

They nominated Francis Tillou Nicholls for governor, and Louis A. Wiltz for lieutenant governor. Against them, the Republicans entered S. B. Packard and the Negro Caesar C. Antoine.

Nicholls was an inspiring, a vitalizing figure. Descendant of a prominent family, he was born in Donaldsonville, August 20, 1834. After graduating from West Point, he served in the Seminole war, and on outpost duty in California. In 1856 he resigned from the army to study law; was admitted to the bar two years later, and began to practice in Napoleonville. He entered the Confederate army with the rank of captain; fought at the first Battle of Bull Run, and in many other heavy engagements; rose to be brigadier general; lost an arm and a foot in action. After the war, he resumed the practice of the law. He was fearless, upright, incorruptible, respected by Republicans as well as Democrats, Negroes as well as whites.

The Democrats reorganized the White Leagues, but concentrated their efforts on breaking the color line. They admitted Negroes into their political clubs; the former master as president, and the former slave as vice-president, sat on the same platform; Negro leaders addressed white Conservatives; at barbecues, whites and Negroes ate side by side. It is estimated that at least five thousand, and possibly seventeen thousand, Negroes allied themselves with the Democrats.

There was some violence, in different parts of Louisiana, but the election of November 7 was orderly.

The election officials certified to a Democratic majority of 7639. The Returning Board then sat in review. It was composed of men of vulnerable qualifications—J. Madison Wells, surveyor of the port and Radical partisan; L. M. Kenner, gambling house operator; T. C. Anderson, state senator who had grown rich on corrupt

legislation; and G. Casanave, Negro undertaker, honest but ignorant. They juggled the vote into a Republican majority of 3437, declared the Packard-Antoine ticket elected, and gave the Legislature a Republican majority.

The Packard Legislature fortified itself in the State House. Its members ate and slept there, under heavy police guard, on the theory that possession of a building would enable them to thwart the will of the people. The McEnery legislators marched to St. Patrick's Hall, accompanied by a crowd of about two thousand cheering citizens, and organized. This was on January 1, 1877.

On January 8—auspicious anniversary—a hundred men, unhitching the horses of Nicholls' carriage, pulled him in triumph to St. Patrick's Hall. He was inaugurated governor at 1 P.M. on the flower-covered balcony in the presence of a dense throng which filled Camp street and Lafayette Square. He read his inaugural address, promising reform, efficiency, and economy. Cannon roared; men shouted themselves hoarse.

At the same hour, Packard was inaugurated behind closed doors in the State House, from which the public was excluded. In the street, men cursed and shook their fists.

The stores had closed; Federal troops were held in readiness, in the event of an outbreak. But the people were orderly.

Next morning the Crescent City White League, about three thousand strong, assembled with rifles and field pieces. General Ogden was at their head. From Lafayette Square, they began the march—its objective, the seating of the Democratic Supreme Court. As they passed the customhouse, the United States soldiers, there concentrated, waved and cheered them on. Reaching Jackson Square, they took formation in front of the Cabildo, the seat of the Supreme Court, which was guarded by Packard's police and artillery. After a brief parley the Packard forces marched off with the honors of war, if the jeers and hoots of the immense crowd that had gathered could be called that. The police stations and the

armory surrendered. "Let no one be injured, however obnoxious he may be," said Nicholls' proclamation, "and let the people of the whole country see that we are law-abiding, just and moderate."

President Grant ordered that Federal troops preserve the status quo between the two governments. Packard had only the State House in his possession. The Democrats made no move against that structure, determined to commit no act that would give Grant an excuse to order Federal troops into action; but for nearly four months citizen-soldiers guarded the courts and the police stations. The White League and Packard sentinels on Toulouse street were separated only by the width of that thoroughfare.

Conditions in Fort Packard, as the State House was called, were pretty nasty. In January as many as 400 men had been quartered there. By March the number had shrunk to 250. They were dirty; remnants of meals were scattered about; the reek of whisky was everywhere. Those who crave the details of this squalor should turn to the *Daily Picayune* of January 13.

Little by little, E. A. Burke, who early in January went to Washington, at the instance of Governor Nicholls, brought Federal authorities to realize the true state of affairs in Louisiana. The pressure of public opinion throughout the United States also made itself felt. The spirit of fair play reasserted itself. The South's long struggle for the natural rights on which this country was founded—reaching its majestic, its compelling, climax in New Orleans—won the sympathy of the best elements in the North. They realized that the North itself needed reconstruction—that the North must go back to the first principles of Democracy, local self-government and liberty for which the South had been struggling.

President Rutherford B. Hayes,² after his inaugural, sent a com-

² *Daily Picayune* editorial, March 5, 1877: "Mr. Hayes is now de facto president of the United States. He was not elected, but he has been counted in and sworn in. . . . It becomes rational men to face the situation and to make the best of it. . . . The original policy of reconstruction has failed. . . . The Solid South, forced into solidity by continued persecution, defeated Mr. Hayes at the polls, and until it has been pacified by fair treatment, will lift a voice of protest that must eventually pronounce the doom of himself and party."

mission to New Orleans. It reached the city April 5, its mission to act in an advisory capacity, as its members announced. A mass meeting of citizens welcomed it and presented Louisiana's claims to the right of self-government. In a joint resolution, the Legislature proclaimed that the policy of the Nicholls administration would be impartial enforcement of the law, education of all classes of the people, and promotion of kindly relations between the white and Negro citizens of the state, through justice and mutual confidence.

The Commission listened to both sides. Without making any recommendations or endorsements that might discredit Federal policies in the past, it sought to bring about the establishment of the Nicholls government by the elimination of Republican resistance. Several members of the Packard Legislature went over to the Nicholls side. Other partisans cooled. How these defections were engineered, we do not know. There were reports that Packard leaders received bribes totaling \$15,000. Ella Lonn says: "The fact that the Louisiana Lottery Company was granted a twenty-five year charter, a hard bargain which was kept when the Democrats came into power, would seem to indicate some evidence of the charge that that company came to the rescue of the impoverished Nicholls treasury, supplying the funds wherewith the Packard men were purchased."³ Packard was given the consulate at Liverpool, and William P. Kellogg was sent to the United States Senate. The state's electoral vote was counted for the Republican President, Hayes. Unopposed, the Democratic Nicholls administration began to function. The Legislature reorganized in the carefully scrubbed State House—the Senate with 20 Democrats, 16 Republicans and 4 vacant seats; the House with 64 Democrats, 42 Republicans.

Federal troops marched out of the city April 24, 1877, given God-speed by cheering throngs and a hundred-gun salute by the Washington Artillery.

A great day, that, in Louisiana's history, for it ended fourteen

³ *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868*, 523.

years of military oppression; in the South's history, for it broke carpetbag rule; in the nation's history, for it rubrics the book which Liberty began, Tyranny blotted, and Self-Government started anew. One wonders why the "solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God" to which Louisiana dedicated Thursday, May 10, is not annually renewed.

Headlines

ONE OF THE most dramatic episodes in the history of the Mississippi river was the race of the "Robert E. Lee" and the "Natchez" from New Orleans to St. Louis in 1870. Both were famous boats, lordly sidewheelers, and they were commanded by two of the most dynamic figures who ever trod a Texas deck—Captain John W. Cannon of the "Lee," and Captain Thomas P. Leathers of the "Natchez."

Speed had been the greatest triumph a riverman could achieve ever since 1838, when the "Diana" won the \$500 prize which the Post Office Department hung up for the first steamboat to make the run from New Orleans to Louisville in less than six days. A race was the greatest thrill which crew, passengers, or dwellers on the river banks could experience. Boats which made a record carried deer antlers, proudly displayed under the big bell on the upper deck. And they got the business. So when it became known that the "Robert E. Lee" and the "Natchez," the two fastest boats on the river, were going to compete for the mastery of the Mississippi, there was intense excitement. For weeks, the approaching contest was the talk of the Mississippi Valley, of all the country.

Plumed with smoke, the two boats backed out from the wharf, straightened up, and began the 1278-mile dash. It was the afternoon of June 30. Thousands of persons at the steamboat landing—men, women, and children—shouted themselves hoarse. All the

way to St. Louis, throngs roared and waved from the river's banks: many enthusiasts camped there, straining their eyes by day for the first glimpse of the quivering jackstaff, not daring to sleep at night, but watching in the ruddy glow of campfires which tossed jocund sparks at the pale stars.

"Never before in New Orleans, or throughout the whole world, for that matter, has there been such excitement regarding a steamboat," said the *Daily Picayune* on July 1. There is no way of estimating how much money was bet. Race bulletins on the Exchanges were watched more closely than market quotations. The *Louisville Courier-Journal* said Kentucky was as excited as it had been over Henry Clay's contests for the presidency.

For three days and nights—all the way to Cairo—the "Lee" and the "Natchez" were in sight of each other, except when a bend in the river separated them.

At Cairo, the "Natchez" ran aground in a fog, but the "Robert E. Lee" drove through, reached St. Louis the winner. From wharf to wharf in three days, eighteen hours, and thirty minutes! All St. Louis turned out to celebrate.

There was some talk, later that year, and in 1873, of another trial between the same boats, but nothing came of it. The "Robert E. Lee," having made river history, settled down to the routine work of carrying such cargoes as 4600 bales of cotton and 2500 sacks of cottonseed to New Orleans, as the *Daily Picayune* chronicled on November 17, 1874. Captain Cannon retired from command of the "Lee" in 1873, but he held a reception aboard her on April 12, 1876, when thousands of Orleanians went to shake his hand and say good-bye to the craft which for ten years—ever since she slid down the ways at New Albany, Indiana—had been the most popular boat on the river. She left on her last voyage, to be dismantled at Louisville. The Washington Artillery boomed a salute.

The new "Robert E. Lee" reached New Orleans August 4, 1876, to the cheering of crowds and another salute by the Washington Artillery. She had a hull 321 feet long, with a beam of 48½ feet, and

a 10-foot hold; 9 boilers raised the steam for the engines, moved from the old to the new "Lee"; the 265-foot main cabin was, with its frescoes, furniture, chandeliers, and \$6 carpet, the last word in elegance. The *Daily Picayune*, in its column greeting, said she could carry 7000 bales of cotton, and make better time than the old "Lee."

Home financing had begun to make American history in the \$375 loan of April, 1831, to a lamplighter in Frankfort, Pennsylvania. This important social movement reached New Orleans in September, 1873, thanks to the pioneering work of T. G. Rapier, twenty-six-year-old member of the *Daily Picayune* staff, later manager and president of the company. He organized the New Orleans Homestead Association, and, ten years later, the Peoples' Homestead Association, which is still in existence. That was the beginning of an enormous growth: Louisiana's homestead assets by 1940 would total \$78,500,000.

Vividly and fully did the *Daily Picayune* present the important world-eventuations in the dozen years which followed the War Between the States—the Alaska Purchase of 1867, and the debate, as bitter, almost, as the one which followed the Louisiana Purchase, on the folly or wisdom of it, and the controversy as to whether this \$7,200,000 of snow and ice should be called Asiana or Asitana; the fall of Maximilian's three-year Mexican empire in the blaze of gunfire June 19, 1867, and the march of Porfirio Diaz towards his long dictatorship; Black Friday, September 24, 1869, when Jay Gould and James Fisk tried to corner the gold market and Gould sold out his partner, who saved himself from ruin by repudiation; the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71; the death of the beloved General Lee, October 2, 1870, and the launching of the campaign, with the performance of *Richelieu* by the Shakespear-ean Club of New Orleans in the St. Charles theater twenty days later, to start the fund with which the monument was completed in 1884; the Chicago fire of 1871; the panic of 1873; the hard times of 1876, caused, according to the *Daily Picayune's* analysis of Au-

gust 9, by production running ahead of consumption, and over-concentration of population in cities; the Galveston storm of 1875, in which the *Daily Picayune's* first report, September 20, filled nine and a half columns; Stanley's dash to Livingston in Africa in 1871, and his four subsequent explorations in the Dark Continent; the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia, with its first public showing of the typewriter; Custer's last stand on the Little Big Horn, Montana, June 25 of that same year. "Pull down your vest" supplanted "button your jaw" in popular favor.

During these years, railroad development east and west of New Orleans made notable progress, and the *Daily Picayune* was increasingly insistent that the lines be extended into new territory. In 1869 Charles Morgan had bought the eighty-mile line from Algiers to Brashear, on Berwick Bay, and announced he would push the road into Texas. By 1876 railroad fare to New York had been cut to \$35; two years later the first Pullman rolled into New Orleans to astonish admiring throngs in what is now the Louisville and Nashville depot—"truly a palace car," said the *Daily Picayune* March 13, 1878. In 1876 the cost of sending a telegram from New Orleans to New York was cut to \$1.50; ten years before, the charge had been \$3.25. The Western Union was operating nearly 77,000 miles of wire, and had 7500 offices throughout the nation.

On October 10, 1877, the *Daily Picayune* described an interesting experiment with the telephone—J. B. Solari and Sons proved it would work by telephoning an order from its grocery store on Royal street to its grocery store on Magazine street; and spread an "elegant collation" to the excited group of prominent citizens who had witnessed the marvel. In December, 1879, New Orleans had its first telephone directory. There were ninety-nine subscribers, the *Daily Picayune* among them, who were instructed to attract Central's attention by a long cranking of the bell, name the person with whom one wished to talk, and shout "hello, hello" into the receiver.

Snow fell in New Orleans in January, 1867—the first time in fifteen years—and covered the ground to the depth of several inches;

Odd Fellows' Hall, burned in 1866, was rebuilt and dedicated November 10, 1868, a building which stood until 1938 when it was razed to make way for the Federal building fronting on Lafayette Square; gas was struck, in 1868, at the depth of forty feet, by a water-well driller on Gravier street, and a tank was erected to catch the discharge of five cubic feet an hour, according to the *Daily Picayune* of March 14, but New Orleans' interest in mineral exploitation was then concentrated on the salt operations at Avery's Island which, by 1874, according to the *Daily Picayune* of April 24, were becoming of some moment; the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia reached New Orleans on February 11 to glorify the Carnival of 1872, and was saluted by the *Daily Picayune* with a two-column laudation; former Governor Warmoth, in self-defense, on December 26, 1874, killed D. C. Byerly, manager of the *Bulletin*, when the latter attacked him on a New Orleans street, and Warmoth's duel with Edwin L. Jewell, editor of that newspaper, scheduled for the twenty-eighth, was called off. "Howe's Great London Circus and Sanger's English Menagerie" was a disappointment in 1875: the *Daily Picayune's* review of November 17 feared the glory of the circus was "fading," but the writer may have been more influenced by the discouraging conditions which afflicted all Southerners than by the meagerness of the offerings.

On April 1, 1875, the *Daily Picayune* printed a column and a half story, on Page 1, describing a banquet, with "fireworks, bonfires and music," by Editor Holbrook to members of the city's press, and quoting affectionate letters in which President Grant and high government officials deplored their inability to accept the valued invitation of their "friend." Readers, knowing the *Daily Picayune's* attitude towards the government which maintained the carpetbag regime, and spectators of the fierce editorial battles of the period, caught the implications of the date. A few days later, the *Daily Picayune* gave full credit to José A. Quintero for the elaborate confection.

Quintero, a native of Cuba, had been a teacher at Harvard and

the intimate of Longfellow and Edward Everett Hale. He was an excellent poet in both Spanish and English, and was the author of a *Code Duello*, a little book which is today a treasured item in many collections. He was one of the most brilliant members of the *Daily Picayune* staff. It must have been his ebullient fancy which in 1876, described, in a column and a half of careful detail, the collapse of New Orleans' City Hall: the "Ionic columns" had fallen in fragments across St. Charles street; the "rich tympanum with its delicately relieved *bassi relievi*" was a hopeless ruin. What a shock that must have been to the readers! There was nothing to suggest the hoax, unless the eye strayed to the newspaper's date-line, and the significance of "April 1" proclaimed itself.

The *Daily Picayune* gave increasing space to sports. Its prophecy of November 7, 1867, was realized: "Baseball bids fair to become every bit as popular in the South as at the North and West, where it has absorbed, in a great measure, all other outdoor games." In 1872 there was an effort to revive cricket, which had been so popular in New Orleans before the war, but the Cricket Club that was organized on January 29 before long put out a baseball nine.¹ Mule

¹ Illustrating the way sports were reported in the 1860's:

Cricket.—*Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1866, more than half a column, beginning "One of the most interesting cricket matches it has been our fortune to witness was played yesterday on the Delachaise Grounds between a 'married eleven' and a 'single eleven' of the Crescent City Cricket Club." The story describes the delightful weather, praises the refreshments spread by the Club, and commends the beauty of the "sweethearts and wives of Louisiana" who are still "admirers of manly sports," though "the days of knightly joust are gone"; and compliments the "long stop" but wishes he could have stopped the ball which the reporter caught in his "bread basket" with debilitating effects. Fortunately, the "refreshment tent" provided the necessary homeric remedy. Then the story reports the score, 58 to 43, in favor of the Singles, but gives the vaunt of the Marrieds that no matter what the score was, they were better men than the Singles.

Baseball.—*Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1867: "We witnessed on Sunday [two days before], one of the best games of baseball ever played in New Orleans. The contest was the final game for the championship of Louisiana, between those splendid clubs, the Empire and the Lone Star. The rules of the game were most rigidly enforced by the umpire, Mr. A. H. Swanson, of the Magnolia Base Ball Club, who certainly deserves the thanks of both parties. Some of the best catching ever done was witnessed yesterday [*sic*]*—*Messrs. Condon and Dunn of the Empire, deserving special mention. Mr. Condon, in the opinion of one of the oldest and best players of New Orleans, is a 'half of a club in himself.' The best of feeling towards each other pervaded throughout the game,

races became immensely popular in the 1870's. Rowing had long been a leading sport: on July 20, 1875, the *Daily Picayune* reported that a gallery of 15,000 attended a rowing regatta at Milneburg the day before. Doubtless the figure was exaggerated, but the crowd was a goodly one. Sailing races had their addicts, and rifle shooting evoked many keen contests.

One of the most astonishing diversions of the period was what the *Daily Picayune* called by the dreadful name of "orthographomachy." In simpler phrase, this was the spelling bee. The *Daily Picayune*, in a column article of April 7, 1875, describes how three thousand men and women went to St. Patrick's Hall the night before, and after a concert by the Thirteenth Infantry band, listened to prominent citizens, dressed in boys' suits, spell each other down. "Orthogrammania," as the *Daily Picayune* remarked on the eighth, had New Orleans in its grip; but the editor took comfort in the thought, on the eleventh, that "spelling matches are a great deal better than prize fights," which were then held in low esteem. On the thirteenth, it chronicled that E. H. Farrar was the city's champion. Women had their spelling bees. When the spelling novelty wore off, the *Daily Picayune* proposed that definitions be substituted for orthography, and on May 28, ran a list of heartbreaking polysyllables to illustrate the possibilities. That ended that.

Walking matches then became the rage. On March 11, 1878, the *Daily Picayune* reported that at Grunewald Hall, which stood on the site of the Roosevelt hotel, the Baronne street side, Henry Schmehl had won the 400-mile walk in 119 hours, 41 minutes, and 5 seconds. He received a purse of \$1000. A woman was second—mother of a baby not yet weaned. She came in five minutes and twenty seconds after Henry. A collection was taken up for her. Henry's record was dimmed by the woman in Chicago who, ac-

and we hope this will be the case in all coming matches. We noticed that some very good rules were strictly enforced, such as keeping the spectators at a proper distance, and forcing the blow-hards to keep their flytraps closed."

The article then lists the players, giving their positions and the number of runs each made. From this, it appears that the Empires won, 20-9. Seven of its nine men scored.

according to the *Daily Picayune* of March 17, 1879, had already walked 447 miles and was still going strong.

There were alarming reports of the spread of communism in 1878: an article in the St. Louis *Evening Post*, reprinted by the *Daily Picayune* May 5, reported that these dreadful subverters were drilling assiduously. An editorial of May 10 struck a reassuring note; but there was no guarantee against the increasing hazards which large-wheeled bicycles—called velocipedes—had brought to the sidewalks and streets. On May 4, 1878, the *Daily Picayune* printed a description of a machine that talked, the invention of a man named Thomas Edison; and next year it reported that this same man had made a light which burned in a bottle—one did not need a match: just turn something, and fzt!

Sitting Bull, who had fled to Canada after the Custer massacre, became big news when he returned to the United States in 1879 to accept amnesty, and continued to be so until his death the next year. Speaking of violence—the New Orleans police in 1879 were forced, in the interests of law and order, to search male theatergoers for lethal weapons, as the *Daily Picayune* related on May 13; and that same day, the city passed an ordinance forbidding the sale of “gimlet knives, stillettoes, knuckles and the like.”

From the *Daily Picayune* of November 14, 1879, we may draw conclusions about the cost of living. Game was plentiful, with robins quoted at 50 cents a dozen, woodcock \$4 to \$5 a dozen, mallards 40 to 60 cents each, snipe \$1.50 a dozen, rabbits 40 to 50 cents each, partridges \$2 to \$2.50 a dozen, wild turkey 15 to 27 cents a pound, deer 5 to 7 cents a pound. Fruit was cheap: apples \$1 to \$4 a barrel; pears \$2.50 to \$4 a bushel for Californias, \$10 to \$20 for Louisiana Bartletts; bananas 75 cents to \$1.25 a bunch; oranges \$4 to \$6 a barrel for Havanas, \$1.50 to \$3 for Louisianas; pineapples \$1.25 to \$2 a dozen. The best pecans brought \$40 a barrel.

New Orleans heard *Pinafore* for the first time in 1879; heard it so many times that the names of Gilbert and Sullivan became a loathing, and rushed, for relief, to listen to the Indians yell in Buf-

falo Bill's melodrama, *The Knight of the Plains*, which opened the last week of the year.

Mark Twain's proposed monument to Adam, in this closing year of the decade, made a considerable stir; continued raidings on French drama brought Dion Boucicault an ocean yacht; Georgia gave baseball players the name of "daisy cutters"; Queen Victoria frowned on banged hair; the female-suffrage clamor began to get on the nerves of the sterner sex, already close to explosion because of celluloid collars.

On August 27, 1879, the *Daily Picayune* announced the development of the refrigeration process; but a little more than a month later—October 9—reported that only the arrival of two vessels with 850 tons of the natural product from the North prevented an ice shortage, for the ice plant in New Orleans could not meet the city's consumption needs of 25,000 tons a year.

Crisis

IN THE BRIEF burgeoning before the blight of carpetbag-gery, the *Daily Picayune* went to ten, to twelve, to sixteen pages—two thirds of the space in advertising. The full-page advertisement was born March 4, 1866; and an editorial said about \$1000 of advertisements had failed to “make” that issue.

The column rules in that full-page display were not disturbed. The name and address of the firm were given in small display type at the top of each of the seven columns, and the offerings were listed below in body-type, like news stories with more than the usual spacing between the lines.

Until December 12, 1875, 24-point type (a third of an inch printing surface) was unusual in an advertisement. On that date, the fourth full-page advertisement in the *Daily Picayune*'s history used type with inch-and-a-half printing surfaces to proclaim the advantages of buying a ticket in a \$100,000 lottery; but still the column rules were not moved: the advertisement was set vertically, so that the different lines could be contained within the regular column widths. Column rules were not broken for advertisements until September 1, 1876, when it was necessary to make room for a two-column cut of a sewing machine; but long after this, advertisements of more than one column width appeared with unbroken column rules, and the reader's eyes had to jump those hurdles in following the text across. Sometimes part of a word appeared on one side of the rule, the rest on the other.

The first three-column advertisement appeared November 25, 1877; column rules were broken. As late as May 6, 1879, advertisements were laid vertically in the page, to avoid breaking the rules.

Sometimes, to give emphatic display, the compositors set the body type in designs to represent large letters, or to form other shapes.

Not until December 7, 1879, did the *Daily Picayune* run a border around an advertisement, though before then it had occasionally boxed words or phrases in the announcements. That first border, on a two-column advertisement, seven inches deep, was formed by the word "SILKS" in light-face, body caps, set in column form, with a line inside.

The use of this queer typography was current practice during that period of printing. The *Daily Picayune* was slower than other papers in the East, and even in New Orleans, to change its style.

After the riot of 1866, which was the carpetbaggers' springboard to power, the *Daily Picayune* shrunk to eight pages, and the four-page afternoon edition dropped to two; there were, however, occasional recoveries, as in 1869, when for three months the *Daily Picayune* was the official journal of New Orleans, and put out a number of sixteen-page issues; and in November, 1870, when it printed the first twenty-page issue in its history.

In circulation, however, the *Daily Picayune* dominated, despite the increasing competition of the *Times*, the *Republican* and the *Herald*. On August 23, 1868, the *Daily Picayune* nailed to the masthead the claim, "Circulation second to none in the South."

Two years after his death, Kendall's name came down, and on November 28, 1869, the masthead proclaimed the owner to be "A. M. Holbrook and Company." After the death of Wilson in 1870, the "Company" was eliminated, on March 15, and A. M. Holbrook was announced as "Editor and Proprietor."

Early in 1872, Holbrook sold the *Daily Picayune* to a group of businessmen who had the illusion—as such men do yet, and perhaps always will—that they could run a paper better than profes-

sionals who had devoted the better part of their lives to publishing problems. The announcements of February 1 stated that publication thenceforth would be by "The New Orleans Printing and Publishing Company, under the Auspices of the Merchants of New Orleans," and the next day the masthead carried the motto, "The People's Paper." Among the 224 new owners of the paper, listed that day, appeared the name of Holbrook, so we do not know how much of the \$100,000, for which he sold the *Daily Picayune*, was cash and how much was stock.

The new company cut the price of the paper from 10 cents to 5 cents a copy, and the annual subscription rate (morning issue) from \$16 a year to \$12; experimented with a Monday morning edition; brightened the headline display; pulled reports of duels out of "The City" column in which most of the local news had been concentrated; on December 1, introduced a Sunday series of illustrations (two-column), the first art in the paper since the cut of the Indian chief, Billy Bowlegs, on May 30, 1858.

Some of the pictures presented views of the city, such as the first one, showing the Cathedral, Cabildo, and Presbytère; one was of spot-news value, illustrating, on January 19, 1873, the inaugural of Governor McEnery six days before; some were of business houses, as the one of the building at Canal and Royal streets containing Moody's, Tyler's and Washburne's stores, and we suspect payment at advertising rates.

The innovations were sound; but the inexperienced publishers threw the paper out of balance. They had the laudable desire to end the uncertainties and the discriminations of carpetbaggery, but they made the mistake of believing this could be done by calling names; and they forgot that readers want something besides politics. Moreover, every member of the company believed he had the formula for the public welfare, and no two formulas agreed.

We see the dissension reflected on the masthead and in the news columns. On March 12, 1872, D. C. Jenkins and D. G. Duncan were announced as editors; the next day, Duncan was dropped;

on May 30, he was put back; on September 10, he was dropped. On September 19 R. B. Rhett, Jr., was editor, and Jenkins associate editor. On January 1, 1873, E. J. Dill became associate editor.¹ The company was at such cross-purposes by August 16, 1872, that the president, Dr. D. Warren Brickell, called a meeting of stockholders; and in the days that followed, the *Daily Picayune* printed column after column, begging them not to rock the boat. The situation was saved for the time being, but almost immediately one of the stockholders, John T. Howard, filed a \$20,000 damage suit against the paper for attacking the lottery.

On January 25, 1873, the company sought to inject new vitality into the paper by issuing a regular Monday morning edition. This helped to drive operations deeper into the red. The Monday issue was dropped in November.

In the meantime, Governor Kellogg had caused the arrest of a *Picayune* reporter, Melvin M. Cohen, on May 20, 1873, on the charge of attempting to assassinate him thirteen days before; Judge Jacob Hawkins had brought a \$100,000 libel suit against the *Daily Picayune* and had been awarded \$18,000 on June 21 by a jury consisting of six Negroes, four white Radicals, and two Democrats, and "more than one of the jurymen were bribed," the *Daily Picayune* charged editorially on June 22; and the tax collector was about to seize and sell the paper, when the Superior Court, on May 4, ordered that the assessment of \$100,000 be reduced to \$20,000.

These were political attempts to destroy the *Daily Picayune*, and

¹ R. B. Rhett, Jr., son of Robert Barnwell Rhett, "the father of Secession," was a distinguished newspaperman of his time. Born February 5, 1828, he was editor and proprietor of the *Charleston Mercury* from March 1, 1857, to February 17, 1865, and from October, 1866, to October, 1868; editor of the *Daily Picayune* from September 19, 1872, to October 22, 1873; editor of the *Charleston Journal of Commerce* from July 3, 1876, to June, 1878. He was a member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina 1860-65 and 1877-78; lieutenant colonel on the governor's staff in 1851. He died September 19, 1902. Efforts to trace a relationship between Associate Editor E. J. Dill and B. F. Dill of the *Memphis Appeal* have been unsuccessful. Research in the Cossitt Library of Memphis turned up an obituary of Benjamin Franklin Dill in the *Appeal* of January 7, 1866. The obituary mentions only his widow. It says he was born July 5, 1814, in Augusta, Georgia. He went to Memphis about 1837.

the *Times* and the *Republican* did what they could to further the attack. The editorial fight between the *Times* and the *Daily Picayune* was unusually bitter.

The charging of the *Daily Picayune* reporter with attempted assassination was especially ridiculous, because it was well established that he was in the office at the time when Kellogg, on May 7, in front of the Morgan Steamship Company's office on lower Magazine street, was denounced by Charles R. Railey as a "cowardly and usurping scoundrel," and told that "if you have any courage, you will stand like a man, and I will treat you as the scoundrel you have shown yourself." Kellogg declined the invitation, and retreated into his carriage; as it was driving off rapidly, someone fired a pistol, but who it was, or whether he shot at the *de facto* governor, was never established. The haling of the reporter to trial was an attempt to throw odium upon the paper and increase its mounting deficit. Cohen was acquitted June 27 after a sensational trial in Carrollton, then in Jefferson parish, to which a change in venue had assigned the case.

Dissension again tore the stockholders in July. Editors Rhett and Dill announced their resignation October 22, and their successors, if there were any, were not named in the masthead. Judging by style and content, a number of persons wrote the editorials. The news coverage became thinner and thinner. A new board of directors tried to sell stock in order to clear off the debt of \$31,000, but was unsuccessful. The paper was sold by the sheriff for \$20,000, nothing down and a year to pay.

The Herald Printing Company bought it, and its name appeared on the masthead December 19 and 20. The *Herald* had been launched a few years before by Page Mercer Baker. It was a failing venture. The company sold, on the same terms as it had bought, the *Daily Picayune* to the New Orleans Picayune Printing Company, of which Holbrook was president, as the masthead proclaimed on December 21. Baker and others in the Herald Company joined the *Daily Picayune*, and the *Herald* died quietly and unre-

gretted. On December 19, 1874, Holbrook was mastheaded as editor; and on December 23—the New Orleans Picayune Printing Company washed out—as “Editor and Proprietor.”

Holbrook continued the constructive changes which had been developed during the “era of the two hundred and fifty editors,” as *Daily Picayune* tradition hath it, but tempered the editorial policy to former ideals, in which principles, not personalities or parties, were paramount; and he restored a better news balance.

Almost immediately, the paper's business reflected the change. Eight pages comprised the smallest issue, except on Mondays when morning publication was resumed, September 28, 1874, on a four-page basis. There were many ten- and twelve-page days, and one sixteen; several Monday issues jumped to eight pages. On May 3, 1874, the *Daily Picayune* printed a full-page map, showing the flooded lands in that year of disaster, from the Gulf of Mexico to above Memphis. A record-breaking edition of the September 1, 1874, issue containing the annual business review was printed—26,520 copies of the twelve-page paper, according to an editorial statement that day.

The *Daily Picayune*'s principal competition was the *Times*, launched September 20, 1863, and the *Democrat*, December 19, 1875.

The *Times* began as a seven-day paper, four pages on week days and eight on Sundays, each page containing seven 14-em columns, almost immediately reduced to six, measuring 15½ by 22 inches. By the late 1870's, the paper had grown to eight pages on week days and twelve on Sundays. The *Democrat* began as a six-day paper, not issuing on Monday, of four pages, each page containing seven 14-em columns, and measuring 17½ by 23½ inches. On April 25, 1876, the *Democrat* changed to afternoon publication and shrunk its format to six 14-em columns to the page measuring 15½ by 21 inches.

The *Times* was organized by Union men. It supported the carpetbag governments, though it declared for the Democratic ticket

in 1876. It was a brilliant newspaper. Among its early stalwarts were Mark F. Bigney, later editor and one of the owners of the *Item*, which was launched June 11, 1877, Norman Walker, John P. Coleman, Charles A. Donnaud, A. L. Donnaud, George W. Vandervoort, Judge Alexander Walker, the father of Norman Walker and a man who was connected, at one time or another, with virtually every newspaper in the city, Henry Guy Carleton whose poem *Andromeda Unchained* on the yellow fever epidemic of 1878 won first prize, and who later achieved fame as a playwright, and Mrs. Virginia Dimitry Ruth, daughter of the great scholar and educator, Alexander Dimitry.

Incorporators of the *Democrat* included John McEnery, B. F. Jonas, who became United States Senator, H. D. Ogden, Dr. D. Warren Brickell (not convinced by his first publishing experience), Dr. Samuel Choppin, Richard Milliken, Edward Booth, C. E. Austin, Colonel Eugene Waggaman, and E. John Ellis. Its first editor was Richard Tyler of Virginia, son of the President; then came Major H. J. Hearsey of Shreveport, later founder of the *States*. The *Democrat* was the second newspaper in New Orleans to use cartoons. It invoked them during the political campaign of 1876. The short-lived *Herald* was the first to use cartoons. After the election of Governor Nicholls, the *Democrat* became official journal of the state.² It lost this support because of a controversy over patronage, and campaigned for the Constitutional Convention of 1879, by which Nicholls' term was shortened. On the day the Constitution was ratified—December 4, 1879—the *Democrat* passed to the control of E. A. Burke; Hearsey resigned as editor, and brought out the *States*, January 3, 1880.

The closing weeks of 1875 found Holbrook's health failing. He was in his sixty-eighth year. His physician ordered him to Bladon

² *Daily Picayune* editorial, January 3, 1878, said in acidulous comment on public printing that "the virtuous Reformer and Conservative in office can no more exist without an organ and a champion than could the abandoned and unscrupulous Radicals, in whose footsteps he walks with unerring certainty." The *Democrat* had been high bidder for the public printing, but had received the award because of past and expected services.

Springs, Alabama, to rest and to drink the waters. He was reported to be dying on December 18, but rallied, and on the twenty-first, the *Daily Picayune* reported him out of danger. But this was the expiring flash. He died January 5, 1876.

For two days, the *Daily Picayune's* first page was black with reversed column rules—a grim framing for the story of the Twelfth Night Reveler—until he was buried in Metairie cemetery.

Who would take the place of the man who had given thirty-seven years of his life to the paper, whose wise business head had conducted it through military violence and carpetbag looter, who had proved his leadership after others had failed?

What would his twenty-seven-year-old widow do with the *Daily Picayune* and the \$80,000 of debts she had inherited? ³

³ John S. Kendall, "Journalism in New Orleans Between 1880 and 1890," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, VIII (October, 1925), 557-73.

Whistling

ELIZA JANE POITEVENT was born March 11, 1849, at Gainesville, in the piney woods lowlands of Mississippi, not far from the Louisiana line. She was the product of French Huguenots on the father's side, and old-American stock on the mother's. Her father, Captain W. J. Poitevent, was a builder and owner of steamboats, and a lumber manufacturer.

The Poitevent family was a large one; when a small child, Eliza was taken to live with her uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Kimball who had a large plantation on the Hobolochitto, a darkling stream laced with white sand banks, which flows into Pearl river. This was twenty miles from her birthplace—a long journey in the days of horse and buggy and rutted roads. In that peaceful solitude, she grew up, the only white child in many miles.

Her natural bent, and the fact that she was thrown upon her own imaginings for companionship, made her find her most intense interests in nature and its animate and inanimate manifestations. Like Joan of Arc she lived in a mystical world of her own creation, or perhaps it would be better to say her eyes and ears and understandings were able to perceive a world which does not exist for most of us, but is none the less real. Riding her pony through the pineries; living with the shy flowers and the shyer wild things of the purple-shadowed copses; and lying on a limb, as still as its own lichen, that overhung the river with its dim etchings, she became a part of the great outdoors. The world of growth and change and

quiet movement and cosmic purpose became personalized in her consciousness. She made friends with the bees, the birds and the flowers. She knew when and where to look for the blue and white shyness of spring's first violets; she watched the yellow jasmine spread its golden streamers through the forest; she saw the angels hang their raiment out to dry, though common men called it dog-wood flowers. She knew where each little bird would build its nest, and how long the mother would brood upon the speckled infinitudes.

In the markings on pecan nuts, she could see quaint, gnomelike faces; and fairy tracings in the designs of lace curtains, so like the clouds, in their dainty lightness. To her, the stars, glimpsed through shingle cracks, were imprisoned fireflies; and a certain row of sweet gums near the old home, she revered as her "seven kings." She grieved over broken playthings, as if they were real persons; she carried wilted flowers long distances to drop them into running streams that the vital movement might touch them with new life; even when she was a grown woman, she would not throw away old gloves or pencil stubs, when she was on a journey, but would take them home lest they be lonely in strange surroundings.

She began to write poetry when she was fourteen. When she went to the Amite (Louisiana) Female Seminary, she carried her world with her. She was not interested in school, or the "useless education," as she described it in 1888 when she was thirty-nine, which was the fate of Southern gentlewomen in those days. Strong men then shuddered at the thought of "intellectual women." A little reading, a little writing, a little arithmetic, a little music and a little foreign-language study—that was enough education for any woman! Eliza was graduated July 5, 1867, when she was eighteen, a girl of tender beauty, with merry eyes and yellow hair, glowing with auburn overtones, slim and below medium height, with such tiny hands that her rings would fit a child's finger.

Timidly, she sent poems to the *New York Journal*, to the *South* and to New Orleans newspapers: they found immediate accept-

ance, and the grudging pay which is the meed of young poets. She wrote under the name "Pearl Rivers," which she adopted because of her love for the country in which she was raised. Later, in a poem published in the *Daily Picayune*, February 23, 1879, she created for Pearl river a legend. In an explanatory note, she referred to "the river I love so much."

Her first poem in the *Daily Picayune* appeared March 22, 1868—"A Chirp from Mother Robin." It was on Page 2. Her next one, "The Workman's Goodbye," April 12, appeared on Page 1—and most of her subsequent work held that honored position.

She had been, before this, enshrined in the appreciation of New Orleans readers, and she had become an important literary figure, for on April 5, the *Morning Star and Catholic Messenger* had presented the poetical query:

Where is Pearl Rivers? Our bird of the wildwood?
Where has the minstrel of melody flown?

The author, apparently, had not heard the robin chirp.

Pearl Rivers' poems are delicate pictures of the simple beauties she had found, vitalizing appeals to courage in a world which seemed to have lost beauty and found despair in the dreadful aftermath of war; they are as fresh, as vivid, and as inspiring today as they were when they were written, and will be, as long as truth and beauty rule the human heart.

Said Dr. W. H. Holcomb, a scholarly critic of the day, when her book-*Lyrics*¹ appeared: "She stands by this volume ahead of any other Southern poet, and no female writer in America, from Mrs. Sigourney to the Carey sisters, has evidenced more poetic genius."

Typical of her themes is the "Reveille," beginning:

Brave locust, turn out, turn out!
Spring's soldier you are, then come,
All the woods around, a reveille sound
On your magical hidden drum.

¹ Philadelphia, 1873.

Beat, beat on your dainty drum!
 All the insect tribe will hear,
 And at every pass through the land of grass
 Come trooping from far and near.

And "The Royal Cavalcade," opening:

Spring is coming, spring is coming
 Through the arch of pleasant days,
 With the harps of all her minstrels
 Tuned to warble forth her praise.

In her rosy car of Pleasure
 Drawn by nimble-footed Hours,
 With a royal guard of Sunbeams
 And a host of white-plumed flowers.

And the beautiful "Whistling Poem," which was first published anonymously:

Whistling through the corn field,
 Whistling a merry air,
 My feet are deep in the pea-vines,
 And tangles are in my hair.

Old folks say 'tis unlucky
 For maidens to whistle; still,
 Life is a rugged country,
 And whistling helps uphill.

On a visit to her grandfather Samuel Potter Russ, who lived in New Orleans, she met Colonel Holbrook of the *Daily Picayune*. When he learned that she could write as winsome prose as poetry, and how unerring her literary appreciations were, he offered her a position on the newspaper as literary editor: salary, \$25 a week.

The family wagged solemn heads. A Southern girl work for a living, instead of waiting at home for some nice young man to

come along and marry her! A woman of refinement subject herself to the dreadful contacts of shirt-sleeved and tobacco-reeking men in an office! Oh, horrible! Moreover, New Orleans was not safe for a young, unprotected girl. A rough soldiery possessed the place, drunkenness staggered through the streets, unspeakable crimes took place under the eyes of the police, predacious adventurers, white and black, snatched what they listed in the license of carpetbagging.

Pearl Rivers had a mind of her own; she whistled away her fears, accepted the offer, and became the first woman in conservative New Orleans, and one of the first in the South, to earn her living on a newspaper.

Her poems became one of the bright beams of the day. Other poets wrote poems about her: Millie Mayfield, for instance, in the *Daily Picayune* on August 9, 1868, called her a "daisy woman"; she became news in a big way: a sketch in the *Daily Picayune* of May 17, 1868, referred to her as a "woods nymph or rather Nnyade"; another writer, on September 12, 1869, described "A Week with Pearl Rivers."

It would be too much to ascribe the *Daily Picayune's* first correct spelling of the word "contemporary" on May 8, 1869, to the vigilance of Pearl Rivers, for that was before her literary editorship; but there were other and larger innovations by her. Even in this early period, she edited and created with the careful attention to detail and the rare discrimination which were later to leave a lasting influence on journalism.

She introduced fiction, fashions, art, and kindred subjects, in a large way, into the paper. She expanded the column of book reviews, and printed the poetry of many writers, alive and dead. Mark Twain, whose *Innocents Abroad* was the bright flash across a year—1869—otherwise distinguished by Black Friday, appeared frequently in her columns—sometimes in sketches which have a permanent place in his collected works, sometimes in hackery

which should be forgotten, with the other errors of youth. She showed herself a master of lucid and forceful and delightful prose. Her earliest signed article, the three-column description of a trip to Pascagoula, which appeared in the *Daily Picayune*, February 19, 1871, can be read with profit by any student of English.

Holbrook, early in 1872, sold the paper. He was divorced from his wife, Mrs. Jennie Bronson, after eight years of unhappy marriage, and she had gone to New York to live. In May, he and Pearl Rivers were married. He was sixty-four, she was twenty-three.

Learning of the marriage, Mrs. Bronson returned to New Orleans, scourged by jealousy and hate; and on the morning of June 17, 1872, entered the Holbrook home on Constance street, just above Orange, when the bride was alone in her bedroom, and at point-blank range, shot at her twice with a revolver, and missed; then beat her over the head with a bottle of bay rum. Two servants ran in and saved the young woman's life. While she fled, covered with blood, to the protection of a neighbor, Mrs. Bronson rushed into the yard, seized an ax, and vented her hate on the furniture. She was arrested, and put in the parish prison, where we can leave this mean and meretricious woman whose character was fully revealed in the sensational trial reported in full by the *Daily Picayune*. The Holbrooks took another house, at 333 Magazine street (old number).

Pearl Rivers continued to contribute occasional poems to the *Daily Picayune*, after the sale, but dropped the literary department, and the difference was almost immediately noticeable.

Holbrook bought back the paper late in 1873. It came with a heavy burden of debt. Pearl Rivers again contributed, but did not resume her place in the office. Those were difficult business years. Holbrook kept the paper going, but that was about all. When he died, early in 1876, the *Daily Picayune* was \$80,000 in debt, the competition was sharper than it had ever been, and the carpetbag blight still hung over the Southland.

The twenty-seven-year-old poetess faced two questions: Should she go into bankruptcy and take the \$1000 which the law allowed the widow, or should she carry on, as publisher?

Her family and intimates urged the former; her associates of the office the latter.

For three and a half months she pondered, while the paper drifted, "A. M. Holbrook, editor and proprietor," flying at the masthead.

"I'll stick," she decided. She raised the new banner: "Mrs. A. M. Holbrook, proprietor; George W. Lloyd, managing editor; George Nicholson, business manager."

She called together the entire force, everybody from the printer's devil to the chief editorial writer.

"I am a woman," she said. "Some of you may not wish to work for a woman. If so, you are free to go, and no hard feelings. But you who stay—will you give me your undivided loyalty, and will you advise me truly and honestly?"

A few pulled out. The others stayed.

Would they be loyal? That was too mild a word. As knights to their ladies, so would they be to her. They would work for her, they would fight for her. José Quintero, the chief editorial writer, polished up his pistols and passed out the word that if anybody craved satisfaction for what the *Daily Picayune* said, come to him!

Pestilence

THE YOUNG publisher went on no wild tangents as the more pessimistic had prophesied she would, being a woman. The *Daily Picayune* held its place in public esteem. Advertising increased.

Louisiana made preparations for the sugar, rice, and cotton crops which were to be worth \$34,850,000. Tall ships kept the port of New Orleans busy. The city entered 1878 with the enthusiasm which the *Daily Picayune* had predicted in the annual commercial review of September 1, 1877, when it said: "For the first time in many years, the merchants and business men of New Orleans can look forward to a business season with entire confidence and security. They are protected at home by a sound and stable government, while the restoration of the state to free government and the relinquishment of arbitrary interference relieves her people from further political embarrassments. At last, after years of distress and discouragement, New Orleans is permitted to stand upon the same footing with her commercial rivals, and at last comes the era of peace and good will for which her people have waited so long." To the "hope, relief and content among all classes of society in Louisiana," Governor Nicholls' message of January 8, 1878, bore testimony.

Health conditions in New Orleans were "never better," according to the report of Dr. Samuel Choppin, president of the Board of

Health, after its meeting of June 6. Less than a year before—on August 23, 1877—he had published statistics showing that New Orleans' mortality of 22.03 per thousand population was the second lowest among the principal cities of the United States. The range was from 17.64 in Cincinnati, to 32.54 in Baltimore. In Europe, only Paris, Brussels, and London reported lower death rates than New Orleans. This was a tremendous improvement over the 1846-50 period, when the mortality averaged 80 per thousand population.

Even while the Board of Health was issuing its June report, pestilence was incubating. From the tropics, the "Emily B. Souder" steamed into New Orleans, May 23. Its purser died of yellow fever the next day, its engineer on the twenty-ninth. The plague spread, increasing in malignancy. On July 24, the *Daily Picayune* demanded that the Board of Health give the facts of the situation about which there were so many terrifying rumors. Seven dead of the fourteen stricken within the past few days! The Board of Health began to publish the mounting totals which made the epidemic of 1878 the second most dreadful visitation in the history of the city.

So many fled the city that the population was reduced to an estimated 154,000. Far and wide the refugees sowed the South with death. The *Daily Picayune* implored them, in an editorial as late as October 27, not to return until the monstrous plague was conquered. Terror drove many to suicide. The paper's publisher stuck with her staff and her city.

A horrible quiet fell upon New Orleans. Music was forbidden, lest it disturb the stricken; even the church bells were stilled; sawdust spread upon the sidewalks deadened the footfalls of those who crept abroad. Ice went to \$60 a ton, wholesale, three times the price any other city in the United States paid, for the manufacturing capacity was only about forty tons a day, and sailing vessels, with the natural product from the North, were delayed by calms.

The Board of Health spread lime in the hope of killing the

germ; housewives hung up sheets drenched with carbolic acid to purify the air; the city authorities burned tar and fired cannon to drive away the death.

Medical treatment availed little. The victims slowly recovered, or they died with shocking rapidity. "Castor oil and quinine, quinine and castor oil, these are about all the drugs used in treating yellow fever," as the *Daily Picayune* reported February 14, 1879, "for there is no such thing as a yellow fever prescription, especially recognizable as such."

Business disappeared, advertising went with it. The *Daily Picayune* continued to publish eight pages on weekdays, but cut four pages out of the Sunday edition.

There was much destitution. Railroads carried in supplies free of charge, the Howard Association raised \$1,100,000 to care for 24,000 of the most needy. From all parts of the United States, even from Europe, came supplies and money. Proudly the South confessed itself at last conquered by the North, kindness of heart accomplishing what the bullets of battle had not been able to achieve.

"In the midst of a physical calamity, the extent and fatality of which have appalled the nation," said the *Daily Picayune* September 4, "the noblest moral traits of the people have been developed. Courage, fortitude, self-abnegation, kindest sympathy and generosity have been discovered in the most unexpected quarters, and have everywhere revived the unfailing faith of men in each other. Now, while the disease is at its height, while every brow is pale with the uplifting shadow of a great dread, while so many homes are struggling with the unseen enemy for the lives of their loved, or are stricken with the first agony of grief for their lost, we turn from the contemplation of our sad surroundings to these evidences that heroism and charity need only an occasion like this to rise triumphantly over the selfishness of neighbors and the jealousies of sections."

It was in this spirit that New Orleans observed October 9 as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

New Orleans that year celebrated the September 14 anniversary in the St. Louis Cathedral. Especially poignant was its observance of All Saints'—row upon row of fresh graves!

During that dreadful summer, there was a political campaign, with four parties in the field.

On November 20 the *Daily Picayune* printed the official announcement by the Board of Health that the epidemic was over, and that it was safe for the refugees to return. New Orleans' death toll had been officially put at 3828, but it was probably larger, because many cases were not reported—many victims did not even have a doctor.¹

The city's rebound was immediate. New Orleans' recovery after every calamity has been breath-taking—a city that has made of every disaster a springboard for greater achievement, the city indestructible.

On November 24, the Louisiana State Lottery broke out a full-page advertisement; the people celebrated Thanksgiving with overflowing hearts on the twenty-eighth; a mass meeting in the Varieties theater on December 5 thanked the generous hearts of the United States and Europe for their sympathy and help; Rex announced plans for a glorious carnival next year. By 1879 the people were complaining of the epidemic of *Pinafore* music, and by 1880, were entranced with Mr. P. Valteau Cartier of New York who, according to the *Daily Picayune* of January 15, had "accomplished the manly feat of waltzing for twelve consecutive hours."

But the memory of that visitation was graved deep in the city's memories. One of Pearl Rivers' poems—printed on Christmas Day—"Looking for the Children Home," told the story of a crazed woman who believed her dead children were coming back, because they had never been away from home on Christmas.

¹ Dr. Samuel Choppin, in his report of January 10, 1880, said that in the eighty-four years since yellow fever was known to have entered New Orleans (1796), at least 100,000 persons had died with it in the city, and probably 75,000 in near-by towns and the surrounding country.

Unshackled

NEW ORLEANS, born of the trading needs of the Mississippi Valley, could prosper as long as the mighty river which drains that million and a quarter square miles of territory could float the ships of the world to its wharves, or as long as there was no other port that could be used. The channel was ample—deep enough to hide a church steeple. But at the mouth of the river, the torrent of mud rolled down by the current—enough to make a prism, every year, one mile square by 268 feet high—formed bars and shoals on which even the small ships of the French colonial period, drawing twelve feet or so of water, ran aground. Bienville's engineers had dragged harrows across these shallow places to open the channel. More and more costly were the delays to the Valley's commerce as ships of increasing size were built. The situation was so acute in 1832 that Chief Engineer Benjamin Bouisson of Louisiana proposed that the river entrance be abandoned, and that a ship canal be built from the lower part of the river to Gulf water. In the generation that followed, ships were built larger, but engineers devised no better means of keeping open the river. An editorial in the *Daily Picayune* of March 18, 1865, said that "dredges or rakes drawn by large towboats" were still the most efficient means of deepening the channel.

United States engineers supplemented this with powder blasts and with the churnings of enormous propellers, but an eighteen-

foot channel was the best they could achieve, and that for only short periods of time.

"Forty-seven vessels blockaded at Southwest Pass, and one hoisted upon a mudlump in the channel that has suddenly reared its head right across the channel," ran the dismal statistics of 1874. By that time, ships were still larger, and other ports, served by railroads, were increasingly competing with New Orleans, the future of which hung in the balance.

Admitting that the river had whipped them, the army engineers, to whom the navigation problem had been entrusted, in 1874 adopted the Bouisson plan. They proposed that a canal be dredged, $6\frac{1}{3}$ miles long; that a lock be built, 500 feet long, 65 feet wide and 27 feet deep; that the canal banks be projected, by dikes, into the Gulf until the depth passed 12 feet; and that the entrance be kept open by dredging. With the equipment then available, engineers estimated that it would take ten years to put through the project. The House of Representatives, that year, passed the Canal Bill, and appropriated \$8,000,000 to begin the work.

Up rose a man named Eads—James Buchanan Eads.

"I can put a twenty-eight foot channel in Southwest Pass, and make it stick," he said. "How? By jetties. I guarantee it. If I succeed, the government pays me \$10,000,000. If I fail, I don't receive a thin dime."

Who was this interloper who intruded himself into the jubilation that the nation's most important port in the South was at last to be unshackled? This grocer's clerk, who had got a smattering of engineering between chores, who had worked as purser on a river steamboat, who had established a steamboat-wrecking business and prowled about the Mississippi river bottom in a diving bell of his own design—what had he done to justify the boast that he could create a twenty-eight-foot channel where the army engineers had been able to open only eighteen feet, and could give a foot more water than the canal, which was an answer to prayer, as everyone knew? Oh, he had designed and built some gunboats for the Fed-

eral government during the War Between the States; he had built, at St. Louis from 1867 to 1874 the greatest bridge that had ever been thrown across the Mississippi, which twenty-eight leading civil engineers, over their signatures, said was an impossible dream. But a gunboat was not a river channel, nor was a bridge. Jetties, indeed! True, jetties had been successful, in some of Europe's well-ordered little rivers; but no one had ever attempted to bridle a sixty-million-horsepower rush, such as the Mississippi developed; no one had ever tried to make a stream which pours down two to three million cubic feet of water a second, as does the Mississippi in flood periods, jump through a hoop.

There was a tremendous uproar. Army engineers resented the shocking proposal that a civilian might undertake the greatest public improvement in the nation's history up to that time. Major General A. A. Humphreys, the chief of engineers, beat the drums. Jetties would not serve, he said, for, out of the wisdom of textbooks, he pointed out that the river pushes along its bottom a glutinous mass of mud which must pile itself into bars as soon as the force of the current is spent in the open water of the Gulf. Nonsense, said Eads, drawing on his observations in the diving bell. The river rolls, along its bottom, only balls of clay, pieces of rock, and water-logged driftwood, and carries the rest of the material in suspension. Assuming the existence of littoral currents—a fact which he later proved—he presented the theory that the current's capacity to carry heavy matter is in proportion to its velocity: hence, by confining the river at Southwest Pass, he could increase the drive of the current and make the river use its own horsepower to deepen the channel.

The controversy took a queer sectional slant. New Orleans, and the interests it represented, sided with the army—its native-son pride stirred by the threatened abandonment of the Louisiana engineer's canal. St. Louis, and the interests it represented, swore by Eads, because of the bridge. The *Daily Picayune*, in an editorial of March 6, 1874, pooh-poohed the jetties; but later, that newspaper

swung over to Eads.¹ In Congress and out of it, the debate raged. Newspapers crowded their columns with ponderous engineering discussions; no revelations of scandal had a wider reader-interest.

Alarmed by the tub-thumping, the Senate refused to ratify the Canal Bill, and forced through a measure creating a Board of Engineers to study the entire problem. That Board adopted the jetty principle, and offered Eads \$5,250,000, plus \$100,000 a year for twenty years' maintenance, for a thirty-foot channel in South Pass. According to the Board's own estimate, the work could not be done for less than \$7,942,110, so the Bill of March 3, 1875, had all the earmarks of a Scotch joke.

Eads reduced his bid for Southwest Pass to \$8,000,000. The Board of Engineers estimated the cost of that project at \$16,053,124. South Pass was filling up. It had an average width of 700 feet, as compared with 1500 and 1900, respectively, for the other outlets, Southwest Pass and Pass à Loutre; it discharged 10 per cent of the river's flow, as compared with their 45 per cent each. At its lower end, the water was only 7 feet deep on the bar; at its head, thirteen miles away, it was 15 feet deep. Southwest Pass had a shoal of 12 feet at the lower end, none at the upper.

But the government stood pat on South Pass. Take it or leave it! He took it.

Into the desolation that was South Pass, he began to move men, equipment, and materials in June, 1875. A lighthouse and a few fishermen's huts accented the waste of ooze, marsh reeds, and sea, with faint willow tracings in the distance to mark the banks of other passes. Eads built living quarters and working platforms for his 300 men, and laid out a 2½-mile line for the jetties, which are artificial banks, on a broad curve to where he believed the littoral current would be effective, picking up the silt from the drive of the confined river, and spreading it across the broad ocean bottom.

Work gangs drove guide and anchor piles, sloshed through waist-deep mud to cut long, straight willow trees, piled those wil-

¹ *Daily Picayune* editorials, August 30, 1874, and April 12, 1875.

lows in pine crates, 35 to 50 feet wide, 75 to a 100 feet long, and 2 feet deep.

These "mattresses" were the bricks in the new river walls, which Eads built up from the bottom of the stream. Floated into position, they were sunk by dumping upon them rock by the barge load. Layer by layer he raised the walls, each course narrower than the one below. Mud and sand, dropped by the current when it was slowed by the willow tangle, made the structure solid. With wing-dams of piling and mattresses, Eads shot the current from the sides of the pass into the channel, to increase the scouring action.

That first year 1,711,200 cubic yards of material were planed from the bar. On the first anniversary of the passing of the jetty Act, the schooner "Mattie Atwood," laden with 2150 bales of cotton for Russia, and drawing 13½ feet of water, sailed across the bar.

"The plan is a failure," trumpeted Major C. W. Howell, army engineer in charge of dredging work at Southwest Pass. The fact that the channel depth had already been nearly doubled meant nothing to him.

Across the horizon climbed the steamer "Hudson," 280 feet long, 1872 tons, draft 14 feet 7 inches. It was the afternoon of May 12, 1876.

Off the bar she slowed down and Eads climbed aboard.

"Can I make it?" asked the captain.

"You can," said Eads.

"Full speed!" signaled the captain.

Engineers straightened from their transits, tugboat men lined the rails, pile-driver crews caught the heavy hammers in mid-air, everybody stopped what he was doing, to watch the bone in the ship's teeth: as long as the white wave foamed from the cutwater, they knew the "Hudson" had not smelled bottom. Across! That small audience cheered until their throats ached. Upstream steamed the "Hudson," carrying the news to New Orleans.

Eads drove his attack against the shoal at the upper end of the

pass, where the river widened to two miles, and shoaled from ninety to fifteen feet. His problem was so to change the shape of the river that it would pour more than 10 per cent of its volume through South Pass—a great deal more than 10 per cent. He did this with dams and deflecting works. The mattresses, placed in a vertical position, received the full thrust of the current: cables snapped like thread, piling broke like twigs, vast sections of the work tore away. Eads drove in a stronger attack—and held the river.

Soundings on June 6, 1877, showed that 414,400 cubic yards of material had been scoured from the shoal. No such volume of water had ever been put under such absolute control.

Farther down the pass, he closed a bayou, 275 feet wide, through which some of the water escaped into the Gulf, and added its volume to the mighty river plane with which he was smoothing down the bar.

On October 5, 1876, official soundings showed he had won a channel 20 feet deep by 200 feet wide.

With the first installment of his pay, Eads met some of the more pressing debts, but wages were two months overdue.

One sultry day in August, the seventy-six men then employed on the job were summoned to the office in Port Eads.

"I will have to discharge every one of you," said Resident Engineer E. L. Corthell, "unless you are willing to work for script until we get the twenty-two foot payment. If you quit, we lose what we have won from the river. Are you sticking or quitting?"

The men looked at each other, then at the river. They thought of their needs, they thought of the job. They remembered Eads's fairness, his heroic fight. Once, it had been up to him; now, it was up to them.

"We stick," said all but two.

A great moment that, in the never-ending drama of the Mississippi.

To hurry the channel-creation process, Eads designed and built

a dredge boat, the most powerful one ever designed: the fan in the centrifugal pump was 6 feet in diameter, 3 feet in width; the suction pipe was 27 inches in diameter. The hull could take the storms and heavy weather of the open sea.

By January 5, 1878, the official survey showed a channel 22 feet deep and 200 feet, 5 inches, wide. From the bar, 2,500,000 cubic yards of material had been driven, and no new bar had begun to form.

But "the work is a failure," insisted army engineers.

Then yellow fever struck. The epidemic of 1878 reached Port Eads, August 6. It attacked sixty-four of that devoted crew of workmen, killed eleven of them. Still the work went on; steadily, inexorably, the river ground away the channel obstructions.

Storms frequently tear at the Gulf—hurricanes from the Caribbean, with hundred-mile winds and mountainous seas. One of the big problems was to hold the jetties against the rending fury. From the mattress tops, those waves had slapped blocks of stone weighing as much as 3000 pounds. Eads cast blocks of concrete upon the structure, to hold it in place—blocks which weighed as much as 260 tons each. The jetties, finished at last, were as unshakable as the Rock of Gibraltar.

Into their creation had gone 616,126 cubic yards of willow mattress; 13,000,000 feet of lumber, board measure; 99,826 cubic yards of rock and concrete. They were artificial banks many times stronger than the river's natural banks.

By July, 1879, South Pass had a channel nearly thirty-one feet deep throughout its length.

In four years' time, the river had scoured 3,283,123 cubic yards of material from the bar. It had, moreover, deepened the Gulf beyond the bar.

The steamer "Bristol," drawing 24½ feet of water, boomed through South Pass on October 31, 1879.

Eads's inspiration lived. Largely because of his insistence, the Mississippi River Commission was created by Congress in 1879, to

put national control and responsibility behind flood problems as well as navigation. A quarter of a century after the completion of the jetties, the government caught up with Eads's vision of Valley needs, and jettied the larger Southwest Pass from 1903 to 1909.

Looking ahead as soon as even the government engineers admitted that the port had been unshackled, the *Daily Picayune*, on August 2, 1879, said: "The draining of New Orleans and its environs should be regarded as the most important and urgent undertaking which now presents itself for consideration of the inhabitants of this city."

Restoration

NEW CREATIVE forces seemed to be released by the ending of the war, as the productive machine, which had been enormously expanded to meet the demands for destruction, converted itself to the needs of peace. National problems lost their political aspect. For fourteen years, from 1876 to 1890, neither party controlled the Executive and both Houses of Congress at the same time, except from 1881 to 1883, and then the Republican majority was slim. The issues concreted themselves around the currency framework, with the passage of the Act of February 28, 1878, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to spend from two to four million dollars a month on buying and coining silver, and the United States resuming metallic payments January 1, 1879; around more efficient government service, with the passage of the Civil Service Bill by the national government in 1883; around the concentration of capital in corporate association and industrial combinations, which evoked a swelling agitation against "trusts," and precipitated a series of strikes, beginning in 1877, which took on the appearance of armed insurrection, to be quelled only by troops, and reached a climax in Chicago's Haymarket riots of 1886, the year in which the Statue of Liberty was unveiled; around railroad rate discriminations, which forced the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act, February 4, 1887; around the tariff, that "vicious, inequitable and illogical source of unnecessary taxa-

tion" on which Cleveland was to be defeated in the 1888 campaign against Benjamin Harrison, but was to be given a second term four years later; around immigration, resulting in the exclusion of the Chinese in 1888; around the improvement of election conditions, with the elimination or modification of certain laws passed during the punitive and intolerant era of reconstruction, and the adoption of the Australian ballot system by Massachusetts, in 1888, an example which other states were quick to follow.

On the South's cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, and other products the world made heavy demands, and production was evoked in increasing degree as the blight of carpetbagery was removed.

Immigration poured in, setting a new record in 1873, with 459,803 arrivals, and almost equaling it in 1880, with 457,257.

From 1870 to 1880 the United States increased its population 30 per cent to 50,155,783. It admitted Colorado to statehood in 1876.

Louisiana increased its population 28 per cent to 939,946. It erected six parishes, bringing the total to fifty-eight. The new ones, and their populations at the next census, were Red River 8573, Vernon 5160, and Webster 10,005 in 1871; Lincoln 11,075 in 1873; East Carroll 12,134, and West Carroll 2776 in 1877.

New Orleans increased its population 13 per cent to 216,090, and the *Daily Picayune*, on April 25, 1880, began to talk about the need of larger buildings, provided with water-power elevators, to meet the demands of growth. The city received 2663 immigrants during the year ending June 30, 1880. Its exports, including 1,428,503 bales of cotton, during the same period were valued at \$90,238,503; its imports, \$10,611,353. It counted 915 small manufacturing establishments, which employed 8952 adults and 552 children, and turned out products valued at \$18,565,303 a year. It had 24,150 children enrolled in the public schools—6856 of them Negroes—and a teaching staff of 407 women and 25 men, who were paid from \$324 to \$1620 a year. Two years before, *Daily Picayune*, March 13, 1878, New Orleans had seen the first Pullman car. Its present

railroad outlets included the New Orleans and Pacific, pushing hopefully towards Marshall, Texas; the Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans, which reached to Cairo; the New Orleans and Mobile; and Morgan's Texas Railway to Morgan City, Louisiana, where there was a steamer connection to Galveston. It had 566 miles of streets, of which 472 were unpaved; 140 miles of city railroad track, with 313 horse or mule cars and 60 small passenger coaches used on the steam lines to Carrollton, West End, and Spanish Fort. Its Water Works Company delivered 8,000,000 gallons of unfiltered Mississippi river water a day through 71 miles of mains; its gas works averaged 598,000 cubic feet a day, which illuminated the houses of those who could pay \$2.70 to \$3 per thousand cubic feet, and modified the darkness of the streets with 3600 lights which cost the city \$13.88 a year each. Three drainage machines—at Dublin avenue, Bayou St. John, and London avenue—paddle-wheeled a part of the heavy rainfall and as much of the gutter filth as could be forced to flow, into the adjoining swamps. There was no sewerage system.

The state's interest-bearing debt totaled \$11,785,293; that of New Orleans, which had an assessed valuation of \$111,000,000, reached \$15,426,686, as of June 30, 1880. But the people had pulled themselves from the exploitation status, and were ready to go ahead. Samuel D. McEnery, who became governor following the death of Louis A. Wiltz on October 16, 1881, protested against the cry, so often heard in other parts of the country, of "Poor Louisiana and her impoverished people."

There was tremendous promise in the joining of the two oceans within the natural trade territory of New Orleans, which De Lesseps brought closer to realization when he began to dredge in the fever-reeking swamps of Panama in 1882.

Louisiana adopted a new Constitution in 1879—the first to invoke the guidance of Almighty God; and three years later, New Orleans went under a new charter.

The Constitution added courts of appeal to the judiciary; pro-

vided for chartering lotteries until January 1, 1895, on payment of \$40,000 a year, which would go to Charity Hospital; limited suffrage to males of twenty-one or more who had resided one year in the state, six months in the parish; set up an eligibility requirement of ten years' citizenship and residence for governor and lieutenant governor (the Constitution of 1868 required only two years' residence); cut the governor's salary in half—to \$4000—and allowed him to succeed himself. It also re-established Baton Rouge as the seat of government; and the restoration of the capitol, badly damaged by fire in 1862 after being used as a military prison and barracks, was begun, with Baton Rouge contributing \$35,000 of the \$176,000 which the *Daily Picayune's* estimate of February 15, 1878, said would be needed for the work.

Under the charter of 1882 the people of New Orleans were assured a "strictly representative system of government," in the *Daily Picayune's* evaluation of June 23, 1882, and one "more consonant with democratic principles." It provided for a Council of thirty members, and an executive department consisting of the mayor, treasurer, comptroller, commissioner of public works, and commissioner of police and public buildings.

To administer the public debt of New Orleans, the Board of Liquidation was erected in 1880. Composed of six citizens—two appointed by the governor, two by the lieutenant governor and two by the speaker of the House—and the mayor, treasurer and comptroller of New Orleans ex officio, it was given full control over the bonded indebtedness and the authority to refund all except the premium issues, which totaled \$9,378,680, into Consolidated Four Per Cents. This was the turning point in the financial rehabilitation of the city.

Flood waters rolled down the Mississippi in 1882, as Louisiana was preparing to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of La Salle's discovery of the mouths of the river. The yellow threat was topping the levees of the city by March 9, according to the *Daily Picayune's* report. Crevasses put 203,000 acres of land in

Louisiana under water, 247,000 in Mississippi, and 135,000 in Arkansas. This was the highest water of record, but it would be passed by nearly a foot in the flood of 1890, and more than that in subsequent floods.

The epidemic of 1878 intensified the sanitation issue, and the flood of 1882 emphasized the issue that the river is a national responsibility, carrying as it does the runoff of more than a million and a quarter square miles of territory, a flow that increased steadily as water-retarding forests were cut down and as drainage areas were improved, and forced the lower-river dwellers to build levees higher and higher.

Sanitation was the more important problem, because the people lived with it every day in the year. Even during such a comparatively healthful year as 1880, the death rate of New Orleans was 25.98 per thousand of population.¹ But from where would the money come? The cost of building twenty sewers, which engineers said were needed, according to an estimate in the *Daily Picayune* on June 18, 1879, would almost equal the state debt. Nevertheless, early in 1880 the New Orleans Drainage and Sewerage Company was organized with the ambitious plan of laying a six-foot sewer main on Rampart street from Esplanade to Washington avenue, with a pumping discharge into the Mississippi river of 30,000,000 gallons a day. It failed. But "The best indication of the future of New Orleans," said the *Daily Picayune* on January 18, 1881, "is, in our judgment, the increased interest which its people are taking in its sanitary condition, or rather in the improvement of its means of sanitation."

By 1884 another paddle-wheel machine had been added to the city's drainage system, but all four could not move more than 21,000,000 gallons an hour, according to the *Daily Picayune* of August 30. The downpour of June 28, 1888, emphasized the inadequacy of the "tumbledown, antiquated . . . draining ma-

¹ Death causes in 1879: yellow fever 19, malaria 209, diarrheal diseases 376, trismus nascentium and tetanus 236, diphtheria 61, scarlet fever 1, consumption 824, others 3396.

chines," for "the whole city" was inundated, and the "ditches were filled up with garbage and slush." Canal street, beyond Rampart, was a "quagmire," reported the same newspaper on January 7, 1889; many skiffs plied the bayou that had once been a roadway.

The problem of drinking water still pressed for a solution. In 1854 the city had bored for artesian water in the Canal street neutral ground between Carondelet and Baronne streets, and failed to bring it in. After that, it considered piping in a supply from the clear rivers of St. Tammany parish, but abandoned that plan because of the expense. New Orleans still depended on cisterns for its drinking and washing water, and on the unfiltered river water piped through an inadequate distribution system for other purposes. There were times, especially during drouths, when the water shortage caused acute suffering.

Encouraged by artesian success on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, Dr. Charles E. Kells, a prominent dentist, drilled a hole on his premises, and from a depth of 380 feet brought in a flow of two gallons a minute, according to the *Daily Picayune* of August 24, 1884. Chemical analysis showed it was potable. Less than a year later the Southern Brewing Company, on Toulouse street, brought in two wells, from 405 feet, each with a production of forty gallons a minute; and on July 1, 1885, the *Daily Picayune* predicted that "The use of artesian well water for washing and bathing by the people at large will soon become universal." By 1887 the Consumer Ice Company had a good flow at 700 feet; and there was also an artesian well in Lafayette Square. In 1890 the Louisiana Lottery Company offered the city \$60,000 to drill artesian wells for flushing the gutters and to establish public baths at the head of Felicity street. But the hope to meet the city's needs with artesian wells failed, though later years saw both salt and fresh water brought up from the depths for large uses, some flowing wells, some pumpers.²

² A memorandum from General Superintendent A. Baldwin Wood, August 23, 1940, to the writer, says, "Wells within or near the limits of the city of New Orleans have

Decades were to pass before these essentials were achieved—the modern drainage system in 1900, the sewerage system in 1907, the waterworks system in 1908, and the Act by which Congress recognized national responsibility for flood control in 1928.

By 1880 the Cotton Exchange, organized nine years before by eighteen cotton merchants, had outgrown its quarters in the upper-floor room at Carondelet and Gravier streets. The cornerstone of its own building was laid, at that same intersection, January 23, 1882; and the \$400,000 “palace of commerce,” which the *Daily Picayune* pictured in a 15 by 23-inch supplement the next day, was opened May 12, 1883.³

In the meantime, Atlanta had held in November and December, 1881, a cotton exposition. This inspired the National Cotton Planters Association at its meeting in Little Rock, next year, to urge that the first shipment of cotton from the United States to England in 1784 be celebrated with a centennial exposition.⁴ The *Daily Pica-*

never produced a palatable water fit for human consumption.” Wells now used for industrial purposes (for boiler water or condenser use) get their supply from 750 to 800 feet. The first deep wells had a slight natural flow, but as the drain increased, “the level of the water table was lowered, and today none of the industrial wells produces a natural flow.” The water is pumped, and the “pump setting must be more than 50 feet below the surface of the earth.” The average industrial well, in New Orleans, is of 10-inch diameter, and the pumping yield is about 1000 gallons a minute.

³ The *Daily Picayune*’s financial editor, Henry Garretson Hester, was made secretary of the Cotton Exchange immediately after its organization. He held that position until his death, December 20, 1934—emeritus after 1932. He was recognized as the world’s foremost cotton statistician, and “Hester Says” was to the cotton trade what the sterling mark is to silver. He was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by Tulane University in 1933.

⁴ This was as good an excuse as any for holding an exposition, but cotton was an old story in the South, and in Louisiana, long before 1784. De Vaca found cotton in what is Louisiana and Texas in 1536, cultivated by Indians with hoes made of shells. John Law encouraged cotton planting in Louisiana from 1717 to 1722. Bienville mentioned cotton in 1735. A Louisiana planter, Dubreuil, made a machine for separating the seed from the lint in 1742, probably a rediscovery of the roller-gin principle which we know existed in other parts of the cotton world at least three hundred years before Christ. A public document, dated Paris, 1752, described at length the cultivation of cotton in Louisiana. In 1769, the Spanish governor, O’Reilly, said cotton was one of the principal exports of Louisiana. Baron Pontalba, in his memoir of 1800 to Napoleon, said New Orleans exported 200,000 pounds of cotton a year. The cotton shipment to England in 1784 consisted of fourteen bags of the staple; eight of them were confiscated

yune on November 12 urged that the businessmen of New Orleans underwrite the attraction for that city. So the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition was chartered May 21, 1883, with a capital stock of \$500,000; a Congressional appropriation of \$1,000,000, in the form of a loan, was added to that, and \$350,000 later on. Edmund Richardson was chosen to be president of the board of management; Frank C. Morehead, commissioner general; and Edward E. Burke, director general. The *Daily Picayune* believed that Burke's appointment threw the exposition into politics, for Burke was state treasurer, the patronage possibilities were enormous, and a state election was in the offing. George Nicholson withdrew from the exposition committee, but the paper supported the exposition with columns of promotion, before and after the opening.

The "Upper City Park," as Audubon Park was then called by those who wished to give some dignity to the unkempt cattle range of 247 acres bought in 1871 for \$800,000, was chosen as the site, because steamboats and steamships could land there, because six lines of streetcars ran to it or had rights-of-way that far, and because Tchoupitoulas street was paved or planked all the way to it. A movement to pave St. Charles avenue was immediately put under way, and a railroad, to move material and equipment, was built from Hagan avenue and New Basin canal to the grounds.

The Exposition was opened December 16, 1884, to an 11½-column salute by the *Daily Picayune*. It was a \$1,000,000 plant, said the *Daily Picayune* on June 16, 1885, with buildings which covered 1,656,030 square feet of ground. No world exposition had ever been cast in such grandiose proportions. It was filled with so many exhibits from many parts of the world, that visitors forgot the inspiration of the centennial; but the thoughtful could learn, if they were diligent, that Louisiana's cotton crop in 1784 had been 3200 pounds, and in 1884 was 3,757,544,422 pounds, and draw what

by customs officials on the ground of improper entry, for they did not believe it possible for so much cotton to be produced in this country.

conclusions they wished; and they could speculate about the possibilities of the new cottonseed oil industry, which was turning out 20,000,000 gallons of oil and 200,000 tons of cottonseed cake a year in the United States, and had already put a payroll of \$700 a week in New Orleans. Crowds thronged to the displays; boat and street-car transportation all but broke down. Enthusiasm reached a frenzy when the Liberty Bell was received. In honor of Louisiana Day, the *Daily Picayune* on May 1, 1885, was printed on paper made from bagasse, the refuse of sugar cane after the juice is expressed, which a later generation would value as the raw material for a building board. Nevertheless, when the Exposition closed on June 1, 1885, it was \$470,000 in debt, according to the *Daily Picayune* three days later.⁵

Perhaps it would have done better had there been no panic in 1884, the corrective of excesses in railroad expansion. Many firms were bankrupted, among them Grant and Ward, in which the former President lost everything he had. The condition was accentuated by unprecedented floods in the Ohio Valley, which put Cincinnati almost at the mercy of a mob for six days.

The North, Central and South American Exposition was immediately organized, with S. H. Buck as its director general. He bought the Cotton Centennial's entire plant, including the railroad from Hagan avenue, for \$175,000. With most of the same exhibits, the new enterprise was opened November 10, 1885, and showed to a diminishing public until March 31, 1886. When it was dismantled, the main building, containing four million square feet of lumber and more than a thousand windows, brought \$9050; other prices were in proportion. But Horticultural Hall, a palace of glass stocked with tropical plants, was kept, and became the cen-

⁵ Many Orleanians, and visitors, believe the large boulder on the Audubon Park golf course, near the lagoon, is a meteorite, because of an April Fool hoax by the *Daily Picayune*. On April 1, 1891, it printed a most circumstantial account of the fall of this "meteorite" with a shock that shattered windows for blocks around, and a noise that aroused sleepers as far away as Atlanta. The boulder is a sample of iron ore in Alabama, one of the exhibits at the Cotton Centennial Exposition, and was discarded when the Exposition was dismantled.

ter around which Audubon Park was developed, one of the sights of the city until it was destroyed by the hurricane of 1915.

Electric light was included in the attractions of a circus which visited New Orleans in 1880. It "transforms the blackest man into the whitest," ran the exciting promise in the full-page advertisement in the *Daily Picayune* of October 10; and "cheers the mind, intoxicates the senses, burns the incense of serene pleasure."

Edison had invented the bulb the year before, discovering the principle of the carbonized cotton loop in a vacuum. This was a tremendous advance over the arc light, which Sir Humphrey Davy had given to the world in 1800. "There is a perfect furore in New York over the new light," recorded the *Daily Picayune* April 28, 1881. "The Edison factory at Menlo Park is turning out a thousand lamps a day."

That same month, the City Council of New Orleans gave the Louisiana Light and Heat Producing and Manufacturing Company a franchise. The company installed a forty-light generator at Dryades and Union streets. Before 1882 was sped, four more generators were added, and five were being installed; New Orleans had twenty-five miles of main-line wire; eight blocks of Royal street were electric-lighted, so were a part of the levee and some parks, and eighteen lights were being installed on Canal street between the customhouse and Basin, or North Saratoga, street. These were carbon-pencil lights; but some business houses were given bulb service: rates were 75 cents per bulb from sundown to midnight, and would be \$1 for all night when the new generating equipment was cut in, according to the *Daily Picayune* of August 3, 1882.

The cost of this first street-lighting was borne by the merchants benefited.

The electric lighting of the Cotton Centennial Exposition further popularized the new illuminant, and there arose a clamor that the city undertake street lighting with electricity on a broad scale and at the public expense. To this, the city fathers lent a

willing ear, because of the contract possibilities for members of the Ring, as the *Daily Picayune* remarked on April 28, 1885. The first contract was to illuminate the "old oil district" with 213 lights, costing \$2700 a month, according to that newspaper on January 6, 1886; the next was for 528 lights in "the former gas district." For many years, however, some streets were gas-lighted. Before long, five skeleton-iron towers raised clusters of lights 125 feet above the business district, on the theory that distance would increase illumination.

On November 16, 1886, the *Daily Picayune* illuminated its offices with 169 16-candlepower bulbs; and by November 17, 1888, the newspaper was boasting that New Orleans "uses more electricity than any other city of its size in the world."

Advantageous indeed must have been the contracts, for one of the recurrent complaints of the *Daily Picayune* was that the city was not getting what it was paying for. We read that on many nights 80 per cent of the system was dark.

Electricity brought a new hazard—danger from live wires. Equipment and installation in that early day were defective. There were a number of electrocutions. This danger was one of the reasons why the electric streetcar, which made its debut September 1, 1885, in Baltimore, did not reach New Orleans until 1893. The *Daily Picayune* conducted one of the most vigorous campaigns in its history for safety measures.

With enthusiasm the *Daily Picayune* announced on July 12, 1882, that the last rail on the New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway had been spiked in the day before. This gave New Orleans through connection with San Francisco. By 1884 the city had six trunk lines, the paper reported on September 3, and added that they had carried to and from New Orleans, during the past commercial year, 1,400,000 tons of freight. For some years, during the 1880's, it carried the standing headline "The Railroads—The Iron Feeders of Crescent City Commerce"; and printed the total railroad receipts by articles, as it summarized ship invoices. It always

bragged about the railroads, never about the steamboats, though it did urge, as on November 26, 1886, the importance of barge development on the Mississippi river, for reasons of competition. Railroad mileage in thirteen Southern states increased from 19,572 in 1880 to 30,674 in 1885, an investment of about \$600,000,000, according to Poor's Railroad Digest; Louisiana's increased from 652 to 1370. All Southern railroads changed to standard gauge on Sunday, May 30, 1886, an amazing job to which current newspapers paid small attention.

That New Orleans might enjoy the full benefits of the new transportation agency, the *Daily Picayune* in 1888 pointed out the need of a Public Belt railroad, and early the next year, the need for bridging the Mississippi. Chartered in 1889, the Board of Trade also worked to the same end. Besides providing for the quick dispatch of freight, the Public Belt would eliminate the favoritism on the river front, urged the *Daily Picayune*. In the first plans for the bridge, a 75-foot clearance for vessels was proposed. Both proposals reached the stage of incorporation as the New Orleans Terminal Railway and Bridge Company, and the New Orleans Union Railway Company; but it was not until 1908 that the Public Belt hope was realized, and 1935 the river bridge.

The proposal to connect the Mississippi river and Lake Pontchartrain by a canal that had been launched in the excavation which gave Canal street its name, again took shape, in an editorial of the *Daily Picayune* of December 15, 1888. On June 7, 1890, the Lake Borgne canal, seven miles below the city, was opened—a new water route for the coal, lumber, oyster and fish trade, said the newspaper next morning. This development had been launched in 1870, but the company failed after making a start on the ditch. Connecting the river with Lake Borgne, which is between Pontchartrain and the Gulf of Mexico, this waterway was $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles long, 7 feet deep and 60 feet wide; the lock was 40 feet wide and 25 high. In 1921 New Orleans completed its great Industrial canal, between the Mississippi and Pontchartrain.

Another port development fight, begun by the *Daily Picayune* years before, swung towards victory—the re-establishment of the Algiers naval station, originally opened in 1849, but lost during the war. A government commission which reached New Orleans in March, 1889, turned in a favorable report; but the \$1,000,000 appropriation bill failed of passage, and the government did not act until 1894.

Petroleum developments in other parts of the country became more exciting to Louisianians when the Consolidated Ice Company of Shreveport, drilling an artesian well in 1888, tapped a gush of natural gas, the *Daily Picayune* reported June 29. But no development work was put under way; as in the case of the well-borings in New Orleans which brought in gas in 1868, this show did not suggest the enormously rich possibilities deep in the earth-strata. Louisiana would have to wait until 1901 to begin collecting on its enormous petroleum resources.

Increasingly important became the labor movement, as workers found they could no longer reason with individual employers, who knew them, but had to adjust their lives to corporations, which had no soul. To the demands of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, which Uriah Stevens, the Philadelphia tailor, organized in 1869, and which had a membership of more than 600,000 by the late 1880's, the *Daily Picayune* devoted a large space; also, to the agitation of its successor, the American Federation of Labor, the picture of whose president, Samuel Gompers, that newspaper printed for the first time on January 2, 1887.⁶

In New Orleans the demand for an eight-hour day became steadily stronger, as the *Daily Picayune* reported on May 3, 1880. Two years before, the deck hands on Mississippi river steamboats demanded a wage of \$60 to \$80 a month. By January 1, 1889, the Retail Grocery Clerks Association of New Orleans had won the

⁶ The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was too loosely organized to withstand the impact of the doctrines of anarchy, so strong then, for anarchy is the denial of organization. The American Federation of Labor displaced it because of the strength of its organization.

concession of a 7 P.M. closing hour, except on Saturdays, when the stores remained open as long as there were customers.

Not for many years was New Orleans or Louisiana to be visited by such strike fury as encarnadined other parts of the country in this period, but the *Daily Picayune*, in its editorial of May 19, 1887, clearly presented the new issue which had entered national affairs, and indicated its attitude, when it said: "The denunciations of monopoly and of all the injurious combinations of great capitalists are so many proofs that the despotisms of kings and hereditary nobles . . . are not the only shapes which tyranny can assume. . . . Ours is par excellence the commercial age of history, our tyrant is a money-king, and our aristocracy is a plutocracy."

Snapshots

PHOTOGRAPHY had made such progress by the 1880's that amateurs were tempted. There were many camera clubs devoted to the cult of the dry plate.

Bicycles rolled into sudden popularity—the “ordinary,” with a breast-high wheel in front, to which the pedal power was applied direct, and a small one in the rear, both tired with solid rubber. From his high perch, the rider would be hurled in a drooping dive by the least bump. Nearly every humorist leaped to the opportunity—Mark Twain among them. The *Daily Picayune* printed its burlesque on August 7, 1881, lifted from an exchange. Nevertheless, bicycle racing vied with sculling, then at its apogee. Three New Orleans daredevils bicycled to Boston in thirty days' time, as the *Daily Picayune* reported in four and a half columns on July 23, 1886—a feat which is even more astonishing to us today than it was then, when concrete highways, free bridges, road maps, and redundant hot-dog stands were not considered essential to successful living.

Vehicular traffic sought to restrict bicyclists to the sidewalks, but the League of American Wheelmen, with a national membership of more than a hundred thousand, secured the enactment of legislation in most of the states giving them the freedom of the road. Louisiana put this “liberty” statute on its books.

Towards the end of the decade emerged the type which became

the bicycle of today, after some seven thousand inventions had been incorporated into the design. Because it was impossible to fall except sideways, this was derisively called the "safety" by "ordinary" addicts, who for a long time refused to bestride it. The "safety" of this period, with a 30-inch frame, cost \$45; the "ordinary," with a 50-inch wheel, \$35.

By 1892 the *Daily Picayune* was advertising pneumatic tires, and the "safety," now \$100, was supreme. All over this country and Europe also bicycle riding spread. When two or three men were gathered together, the probability was that the relative merits of the Columbia, the Oriole, and the Crimson Rims would be briskly discussed. Crowned heads, statesmen, and millionaires were proud to be photographed in nonchalant pose with their "wheels." There were bicycle bullfights, bicycle polo games. "One of the rarest, raciest products of the wave of modern progress is the bicycle girl," chronicled the *Daily Picayune* on November 22, 1891.

The tandem appeared, then the three-seater, then the four-seater, then the six-seater. There were many bicycle clubs, some with stately houses; even the women organized one. There was a half-mile track in Audubon Park, another far out Tulane avenue. The record of a mile in three minutes does not compare with today's 1:07, but it was marvellous then. Every boy or young man who was not a cripple aspired to be a "scorcher," and paved streets were a flash of speeders, their bodies bent parallel with the crossbar as they grasped down-curving handle bars. They introduced a new traffic hazard, and on May 30, 1896, the *Daily Picayune* denounced the hit-and-run rider who did not stop to give aid to the victim "crushed beneath his wheels." The city had to pass an ordinance to protect pedestrians.

Dueling, by this time, had become so rare that when Editor E. A. Burke of the *Democrat* and Editor H. J. Hearsey of the *States* exchanged two shots, at ten paces, in the calm seclusion of the Metairie Road, the *Daily Picayune*, on January 28, 1880, devoted a column and a quarter to the meeting. They chose the Metairie

Road because the police had a way of intruding closer home, as the reports of many aborted affairs of honor in the previous decade show. Neither editor took a wound, and the meeting ended in peace and loveliness, with each rushing into print with a highly complimentary article about the courage and gentlemanly bearing of the other. On July 17, 1884, the *Daily Picayune* printed three quarters of a column about a duel with small swords which yielded one slight wound in a leg. On June 23, 1889, it printed half a column about two men who believed in "try, try again." Three times they blazed away at each other, without result, and were about to set off the fourth shot when police interfered—disgusted, probably, with the marksmanship. When duels were common, an affair of honor did not rate much more than four or five lines in the newspaper. Though there may have been formal meetings after this, the word "duel" degenerated to its present journalese, which means any kind of street brawl, or a baseball game in which the pitchers take most of the work from the infield.

Typewriters, which had been marketed as early as 1874 when four hundred of the Sholes and Glidden invention were sold, began to clamor for attention in New Orleans a decade later. A three-column advertisement in the *Daily Picayune* on October 3, 1886, proclaimed the superiority of the Remington over the "caligraph writing machine," the creation of George N. Yost, with a separate key for each character, and an inking pad instead of a ribbon. By 1889 the Hammond machine was trumpeting its advantages.

The typewriter was one of the largest doors that admitted women into the business world, after experience had proved the groundlessness of the fears that the female body and mind would collapse under the strain of this machinery. The *Daily Picayune*, though it still opposed suffrage,¹ championed the economic cause of women in such expressions as "The increased attention now accorded to the industrial status of women is one of the characteristic

¹ "Women can never maintain their claims to political equality with men until they learn to shoot." *Daily Picayune*, October 19, 1887.

features of the age, and proof of its progress." It urged that better facilities for technical education be opened to women.

New Orleans' ice plants had a manufacturing capacity in excess of consumption, which was about 25,000 tons a year, but could not apply its full production to consumption because of inadequate storage, and the city still needed the natural product shipped from the North. An ice famine was prevented in 1881 by the arrival of such a cargo. The ship left Boston July 7 with 1530 tons, and reached New Orleans September 12 with 800. Encouraged, no doubt, by the rate of three cents a barrel a day which the ice companies charged for cooling beer, an enterprising group opened a refrigeration business at the head of St. Joseph street in 1882, as the *Daily Picayune* chronicled on August 5. Reporting the enlargement of plant capacity, that newspaper announced, November 14, 1889, that New Orleans no longer needed to bring in ice; but shipments of the natural product were received until well into the 1890's. The price of ice in New Orleans ranged from \$8 to \$15 a ton, wholesale; and when the *Daily Picayune* protested at the extortion of the last increase, the companies replied that they were just one jump ahead of the sheriff. This reconciled everybody to the gouge except those who knew ice stock was selling for 50 per cent above the face value and had paid in November, 1889, a dividend of 10 per cent.

General Grant visited New Orleans in 1880, and his reception was "pleasant and graceful," according to the *Daily Picayune* of April 2; but it was not as enthusiastic as had been accorded to another Federal general, W. S. Hancock, two years before. Hancock, succeeding Sheridan in November, 1867, introduced a policy of conciliation which made New Orleans, Louisiana, and the rest of the Fifth Military District under the carpetbag heel hope better days were coming; but he was soon relieved. Of him, the *Daily Picayune* said, February 10, 1878: "Had his noble efforts not been thwarted by his then superior in command, he would long ago have placed Louisiana in the proud position she has but lately

attained, and saved us from the long years of oppression and suffering." It was booming him for the presidency when Grant, who had hoped for a third term, arrived.

New Orleans was getting tired of the goats that roamed its streets, and an ordinance abolishing them was passed in 1881. The *Times* believed that the organ grinders were just as large a nuisance, but the *Daily Picayune* took their part on May 20, 1880. In 1880, which was a Leap Year, that newspaper ran a list of eligible bachelors, and a full description of their charms, five and a quarter columns in the issues of February 1 and February 8, and on July 22 of the next year, listed six Orleanians who were millionaires, seven with \$500,000 to \$1,000,000, and eleven with \$200,000 to \$500,000, though it admitted that the third listing was incomplete.² But wealth did not set the standards in New Orleans, a city which was then, as it always has been, stricter and more liberal in its social evaluations than the East, even when Ward McAllister, the chamberlain of Astor snootiness, said, as the *Daily Picayune* reported without enthusiasm on January 3, 1889, that the number of persons in New York who were reckoned to be in society did not exceed four hundred, thereby giving the language a new phrase.

Postage was reduced to two cents in 1882, and on September 1 of that year the *Daily Picayune* boasted that New Orleans had 825 telephones and an exchange board with 24 operators. "Telephones," it said, "have become as indispensable an adjunct to first-class business houses as locks are to doors." Perhaps the two-year-old prodigy whose skill as a telephonist the newspaper had described on July 4, 1880, had an installation.

Better facilities for treating leprosy, which like Topsy had just "grewed" since DuPratz observed it in New Orleans in 1718, pressed

² Edward Richardson, \$8,000,000; E. J. Gay, \$3,000,000; D. H. Holmes, Leon Godchaux, E. J. Hart and R. T. Buckner, \$1,000,000 or more. Charles Alter, \$700,000; Duncan F. Kenner, Bradish Johnson, A. Carrière, Charles T. Howard, Jules P. Sarrazin, and James Jackson, \$500,000 each. M. Frank, George W. Preston, Adam Thompson, Albert Baldwin, Jules Cassard, Joseph H. Oglesby, Louis Grunewald, John T. Hardie, J. H. Keller, \$300,000 each; U. Marinoni, \$250,000; J. C. Morris, \$200,000.

for attention in 1881, and the *Daily Picayune* on May 6 backed the urging of the state Board of Health that Louisiana provide separate hospitalization for cases, instead of treating them in the "crowded ward of the Charity Hospital." Persistent agitation eventually secured the relief of the pest house in New Orleans; but not until 1894 did the state see the beginning of the leper colony at Carville—not the model establishment it now is, but a group of abandoned Negro cabins on an old plantation, inhabited by rats and snakes, to which the first twenty-four patients were taken by barge, because railroads and steamboats refused them transportation.

Tulane University was organized in 1884 from the old University of Louisiana, thanks to the gifts of Paul Tulane, New Orleans merchant, which totaled \$1,050,000; next year, the sugar experiment station in Audubon Park was founded, to function until 1923; and in 1887, Newcomb College was opened at DeLord, or Howard avenue, and Camp streets, the gift of Mrs. Warren Newcomb to the memory of her deceased daughter.³ Howard Memorial Library was opened on the night of March 4, 1889, a dedication to literary research made during the peak of the Carnival season. It was established in memory of her father, Charles T. Howard, by Miss Annie T. Howard, who gave \$115,000 for a building, \$200,000 for a maintenance fund, and eight thousand books as a nucleus. It occupied the distinctive reddish sandstone building at Camp street and Howard avenue until 1941, when it moved to Tulane campus, incorporated with the University library.

Steve Brodie made his 105-foot leap from a bridge in Paterson,

³ Newcomb College opened with 59 students in the academic department, 91 in art and special-course studies, an astonishingly large number for the time and place, for it seemed to be striking at the roots of the social order to keep girls in school after 17, the age at which they stepped upon the debutante springboard for the delectable dive into matrimony. Aided by Mrs. Newcomb's continued givings, totaling \$3,500,000, and inspired by the broad scholarship of B. V. B. Dixon, who organized the college and gave thirty-two years of his life to its management, before he retired with the distinction of emeritus in 1919, Newcomb became one of the outstanding educational institutions for women in the South. Twice it outgrew its quarters. It occupied the present campus in 1918. From the beginning it was connected with Tulane University.

New Jersey, in 1889, and a few months later, went over Niagara Falls in a rubber suit, which feats the *Daily Picayune* chronicled, respectively, May 26 and September 8. Also in 1889 the dam at Conemaugh lake broke and an immense rush of water engulfed Johnstown, and killed more than 2200 persons.

That same year, the jute trust advanced the price of cotton bagging to such a point that Sigmund Odenheimer, manager of the Lane Mills in New Orleans, patented a bale-covering of cotton and gave it to the world, without royalty. Though this competition ruined the hopes of the trusters, jute continued to be the market raiment of cotton, despite the persistent efforts of Mr. Odenheimer to have net-weight laws passed, so that the trade could adopt the superior covering and one which opened a new consumption for the South's great staple. Half a century later, the Federal government, in its farmers-loan policy supporting the diminished cotton market, made provision, in 1938, to cover a million bales with cotton bagging.

New Orleans unveiled George Doyle's sculptured tribute to the Washington Artillery in Metairie cemetery February 22, 1880, before a crowd of 10,000, after a parade in which took part every military organization in the city except the First Regiment Infantry, prevented by the failure of its new uniforms to arrive; Achille Perelli's 38-foot granite statue of Stonewall Jackson, on the monument to the Army of Northern Virginia erected on the site, in Metairie cemetery, where volunteers had drilled twenty years before, on May 10, 1881, before 10,000; Alexander Doyle's 16½-foot bronze of Robert E. Lee, atop its 60-foot fluted column, on the site of the merry-go-round of a former generation, on February 22, 1884, before 15,000; and the monument to the Army of Tennessee, crowned by Alexander Doyle's horseback figure of Albert Sidney Johnston, in Metairie cemetery, on April 7, 1887, before 15,000—all crowd estimates by the *Daily Picayune*.

Jefferson Davis died, at the age of eighty-one, December 6, 1889, six days before the poet Robert Browning found his rest. Judge

Charles E. Fenner's home at First and Camp streets, where the president of the Confederacy passed his last hours, is still an unofficial shrine of a people's devotion. Forty thousand persons passed before the remains, lying in state in City Hall, according to the *Daily Picayune's* estimate of December 9; the city suspended business on the day of the funeral, December 12, when the long cortege moved through dense and silent throngs, the body riding on a flag-draped caisson, to the tolling of cannon. For two years the remains rested in the mausoleum of the Army of Northern Virginia, then were removed to Richmond.

Only once before had death so wrung the heart of the city, and that was when Margaret Haughery passed away, February 9, 1882—Saint Margaret, as she was known to loving thousands.

Orphaned by a yellow fever visitation in Baltimore when she was five years old, this Irish girl had never been to school and never learned to read or write. She was twenty-three and penniless when she found her way to New Orleans, grieving because of the death of her husband and her baby. She found work as laundress in the St. Charles hotel. Two thirds of her meager earnings she gave to the Sisters of Charity, who were raising funds for an orphanage, so greatly needed in that city of epidemic. She dedicated her life to bereft children. When she was not working, she begged for the cause. Out of the pathetic amount she allowed herself, she pinched enough to buy two cows; milked them, and delivered the milk to customers. This gave her more money for the children. Ten years passed, and St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, the Camp Street Asylum, and St. Elizabeth's Asylum rose to glorify her works. She took over a debt-ridden bakery and built it into a large steam plant which the *Daily Picayune* pictured on September 1, 1879; and despite the vast quantities of bread she gave to needy Confederate families and to the flood-stricken, and her increasing donations to homeless children, she left an estate of \$600,000 when she died at the age of sixty-nine—every cent of it willed to the city's orphanages.

"A great calamity has befallen," said the *Daily Picayune* on February 10, 1882. The governor, the mayor, the archbishop, the city's business and professional men, the ladies of fashion, and the children of eleven orphan asylums attended her funeral. Two years later—on July 9, 1884—the city unveiled Alexander Doyle's portrait statue of her where Camp and Prytania streets come together, the first statue erected to the memory of a woman in the United States. It represents a middle-aged, homely woman, dumpy and clumsy of figure, with heavy face framed in tightly drawn hair, garbed in a dress of cheap material and no style, with a crocheted shawl over her shoulders, seated in a splint-bottomed chair, her arm around a slim girl—Margaret as she had been, the charity, the truth, the strength, and the peace of her life made permanent in white Carrara marble. The cost of the monument, \$6000, was eagerly met by popular subscription. Only a small part of the crowd, which packed the streets for as far as the eyes could reach, heard Governor Francis T. Nicholls' beautiful eulogy, but everybody knew what he said, for he said what was in everyone's heart. "The name of Margaret is right royal," said the editorial in the *Daily Picayune*. "Even when she bore the cross, she wore the crown."

Prize fighting reached such popularity by 1882 that the *Daily Picayune*, though on February 5 it still opposed such "brutal exhibitions," devoted large daily space to the promotion of the Ryan-Sullivan match at Mississippi City, Mississippi, on February 7, and reported the bout, in which Sullivan won the championship by a knockout in the ninth round, in five and a half columns. "What will Mississippi do in the future in the direction of protecting herself from such invasions?" it asked. Sullivan's rise, by the way, dimmed the glory of one Jack Dempsey, the middleweight champion. When Sullivan was matched to defend his title against Kilrain in 1889, both Louisiana and Mississippi forbade the meeting, the latter emphasizing its attitude by calling out the militia; and the promoters, making all the preparations in New Orleans, sold

two thousand railroad and admission tickets, keeping the place of the bout a secret. The fight was staged at Richburg, which no longer exists, not far from where the Ryan-Sullivan argument had been settled, on the broiling afternoon of July 8. It was the last of the bare-knuckle fights in this country. Sullivan battered down Kilrain in seventy-five rounds, two hours and sixteen minutes of fighting, for which he received \$26,000, such a piddling reward for his labor that by June 26, 1890, he was telling the *Daily Picayune* he intended to go into something which promised real money.

Because of the secrecy attending the fight, no telegraph wires were run to the ringside. A sports writer on the *Daily States*, afterwards its editor, J. Walker Ross, seeing a chance to scoop the other reporters, induced the engineer to uncouple the engine from the train and take him to New Orleans, leaving the fans in the piney woods, with memories and mosquitoes. He was astounded, when he passed the *Daily Picayune's* office that night, to see the result bulletined. A railroad telegrapher had reported the result in his gossip period, the receiving operator had given it to J. C. Aby, another *States* reporter, who wired the results throughout the country, scooping, by remote control, all the special correspondents at ringside. From this wire, the *Daily Picayune* gained its information. Its reporter reached the city with a ten and a half column story.

Mississippi caused the arrest of both Sullivan and Kilrain, who were sentenced to jail after a trial in Purvis in which they were treated as heroes even while they were being charged with the crime of prize fighting. Later, the governor relented and allowed accounts to be squared with a fine—Sullivan \$500, Kilrain \$100.

In the latter part of 1889, the state auditor observed that Louisiana was paying interest on state bonds which had been ordered canceled. He investigated, and the people were stunned to learn that the glamorous E. A. Burke, who had been state treasurer since 1878, had committed the colossal fraud. The *Daily Picayune* broke the wretched story. The total involved, according to the figures of

the auditor, published September 29, was \$827,000. Burke was indicted. He was in England at the time, raising funds for a gold-development scheme in Honduras, and fled to that country, which had no extradition treaty with the United States.

Burke was one of the most remarkable men in the history of Louisiana. From telegraph operator, railroad conductor, and day laborer, he rose to enormous wealth and political influence. A native of Illinois, he went to New Orleans in 1860, joined the Confederate army, marched to the rank of major. He became one of the stalwarts in the state's struggle against carpetbaggers, and was the special representative of the Nicholls government to President Grant. From 1879 to 1881, he was manager of the *Democrat*, and after its merger with the *Times*, was manager or the directing force of the *Times-Democrat* to 1889. He was the managing director of the Cotton Centennial Exposition. He was in a number of business enterprises in Louisiana and elsewhere. Notwithstanding these many interests, he had time for a series of scandals, some of which resulted in duels. His moral obliquity was the product of the times, in which dishonesty was held up as the national example, to the weak of soul, by the Grant administration.

In Honduras his gold-dredging plans came to naught; but as late as 1922, he still hoped, or said he hoped, for success. He developed a plantation, and became an outstanding figure in the foreign colony of his adopted country, giving flamboyant interviews to every reporter who passed through Puerto Cortéz. A small group of friends who remembered what he should have been, persuaded the Louisiana authorities, on February 4, 1926, to kill the nineteen indictments against him. "Come home," they cabled. But Burke died in Honduras, September 23, 1928, and was buried by the side of his wife there—about eighty-nine years old.

Trail Blazing

THE FIRST woman publisher of an important daily in the United States, Pearl Rivers quickly showed herself to be a newspaper genius in the same sense that Kendall was, with a vision that encompassed new opportunities, and a leadership that opened new trails. To the *Daily Picayune*, she restored the adventurous spirit it had lost under Holbrook, who was primarily a businessman, cautious, commercial, distrustful of innovation, his largest responsibility falling in years in which the principal struggle was to keep going.

She attacked the financial problems of debt, of the \$10,000 suit which Judge Alexander Walker, former staff-member, had filed in 1875, of the libel suit by Editor Isaac S. Stoutemyer of the *Times*, and of a receivership suit by Thomas Barnes in 1876, and she conquered them; she carried the paper through the dreadful discouragements of carpetbaggers' last days, and the slow recovery in the years of yellow fever, river flood, and the economic competition of the East as railroads more and more drew to the Atlantic seaboard the Mississippi Valley trade which had formerly floated down the river to New Orleans.

In the long fight for release from the tyranny of reconstruction, and for good government when the home-grown politicians followed the grafting example of the imported looters, the *Daily Picayune* became political in a crusading sense, but rigidly adhered to

the promise of March 9, 1879, when it was made the state printer, not to become "the party organ."

George Nicholson, business manager, became a part owner, as stated in an editorial announcement of February 26, 1876. The masthead read, "Holbrook and Company, Proprietors—Mrs. E. J. Holbrook—George Nicholson. Geo. W. Lloyd, managing editor."¹ Except during the interlude of the "two hundred and fifty editors," Nicholson had been with the paper since 1842. He had begun as carrier and assistant mailing clerk. The cordial, confidential, and harmonious relations between him and the young publisher bore happy fruit. They were married June 27, 1878, in St. Paul's church. From the half-column report in the *Daily Pica-yune*, we know it was a large and fashionable wedding. Most of the office force were there—all who could get away from newspaper exactions—and many friends. The bride wore "a costume of light blue silk, brocaded with rich clusters of white bouquets, which set off her fair complexion to great advantage. She wore no jewelry, only a bunch of flowers, confining the light, blonde hair." They organized the publishing firm of Nicholson and Company, and were an ideal newspaper team—he confining himself to the business department, she to the editorial.

From the union were born two sons, to carry the newspaper banner in the future—Leonard, January 11, 1881, and Yorke, May 4, 1883.

In her ability to choose subordinates, Pearl Rivers showed herself a brilliant executive. When the *Republican*, founded by Union men after the Butler occupation, went out of business as reconstruction approached its end, she employed, over strong criticism, two of its principal writers, Major Nathaniel Burbank and Major Henry Robinson; and for years, they were leading members of her staff. Major Thomas E. Davis, veteran of many hard-fought battles in Lee's army, was another tower of strength. Rather than surrender, he had moved to Montana, and did not return to the South

¹ The name of the managing editor was dropped from the masthead October 12, 1879.

until five years had softened memories. From a reporter's berth on the *Daily Picayune* in 1879, he worked up to be editor-in-chief ten years later, and held this position until his retirement in 1914.

Pearl Rivers did not direct, she inspired. When she went to her staff leaders with suggestions of policy, her manner was almost as diffident as a cub reporter's. She put everyone on his mettle. "My 'boys' work hard to please me, and, I verily believe, value a word of commendation from me more than they would the same praise coming from a man," she said in an interview with Eliza Putnam Heaton in New York, October 8, 1887. One of these "boys," C. Harrison Parker, who succeeded José Quintero as chief editorial writer, fought a duel, in 1882, with Editor Edward A. Burke of the *Times-Democrat*, and wounded him.

It was Pearl Rivers who introduced Dorothy Dix (Mrs. Elizabeth M. Gilmer) to the writing world, and gave Catharine Cole (Mrs. Martha M. Field), equally brilliant though she never secured so large a national audience, the openings which evoked her best talents.

Catharine Cole, daughter of a newspaperman, Walter M. Smallwood, had had some experience when she went to work for the *Daily Picayune*. Pearl Rivers sent her to Europe, to the World's Fair of Chicago in 1893, throughout Louisiana and the South; for fourteen years Catharine Cole filled some of the most brilliant columns of the *Daily Picayune*, then she went to the *Times-Democrat*; when she died in 1898, the *Daily Picayune* on December 23, honored her memory and testified to her worth in an editorial. She left a daughter, Flo Field, to carry on the newspaper tradition, and to win recognition as a playwright.

Dorothy Dix had no newspaper training whatever when the young publisher, seeing possibilities in a sketch which she tremblingly submitted, gave her a job. Her first signed story, a fictional sketch, appeared October 30, 1887, "La Petite Mam'zelle." On May 26, 1895, she began her Sunday Salad series, for which she first

used the pen name Dorothy Dix. By August 11 her name was given top headline position, and there it has remained for the better part of two generations, her writings read by millions throughout the United States and in many foreign countries.²

Pearl Rivers' greatest genius lay in creating. When she turned on the electric lights in the *Picayune* offices November 16, 1886—one hundred and sixty-nine 16-candlepower bulbs—she symbolized her illuminating leadership. Until then, newspapers—especially in the South—had shaped themselves almost entirely to masculine interests, their principal chroniclings politics, violence, and the markets. They claimed to be “family newspapers,” but that only meant they could be read by everybody without danger to their morals. In the days of her literary editorship, Pearl Rivers struck the new human note, but after she left the office, the Sunday department sunk back to an interest not much larger than the multiplication table. Now she began anew, and created the newspaper of general appeal.

One of her most important, as well as one of her most difficult, creations was the society column. The idea was not new, but transplanting it to New Orleans was daring. Fifty years before, James Gordon Bennett had begun such a reporting for the New York *Herald*, emphasizing the sensational and the scandalous. But no one invaded the privacy of the New Orleans social life until Pearl Rivers loosed the Society Bee on March 16, 1879.

It was, she wrote, a whimsical little bee, whose “hum, hum, humming, buzz, buzz, buzzing began so long ago that the memory of the oldest inhabitant runneth not to the contrary. It is a gossipy little creature, and when of the genuine stock, *sang pure*, has no sting. We first heard of it in the Garden of Eden. Here it

² “Dorothy Dix” was created from a happy memory of “Mister Dicks,” an impressive Negro “uncle” of Tennessee plantation days, and a childhood fondness for the name “Dorothy.” She hit a new note. Up to then, women had been idealized as angels, glorified as martyrs. Dorothy Dix wrote of them as women. That has always been her attitude. She was twenty-five then.

was interested in the doings of the 'best society,' and—took notes. These it afterwards published in a very interesting book called *Genesis*. It gave a full description of the garden and the inhabitants. It told of the serpent which talked, and gave a full account of the toilette the first woman ever wore, and also a description of the first dress suit ever donned by man."

Shocked was the city's *haute monde*—shocked and indignant. One bitter woman, reported the Society Bee a few weeks later, was "opposed to print on principle. Print applied to persons is her special horror and abomination . . . poison only fit for politics, Associated Press dispatches and police reports. She thought me very wrong to mention any ladies' names in a newspaper. She said it was 'shabby' and 'shoddy' and 'shameful.' "

But Pearl Rivers kept on. She embellished the column with a drawing of the Bee; devoted more space to its buzzings; and New Orleans became increasingly eager for its notice.³ By November 2, 1890, when it was renamed "Society," this was the largest department in the Sunday paper—occupying pages, with individual sections for near-by communities. Other newspapers followed the lead.

Another notable creation inspired by Pearl Rivers was the Weather Frog, by the cartoonist L. A. Winterhalder—a delightful frog, a rakish, opinionated, sophisticated frog, whose garb and whose attitude indicated what to expect of the day, and whose occasional metrical comment on current topics was a delight. He possessed the city from the day of his first appearance, January 13, 1894, did that frog. Wharton's Book Store invoked his appeal in a coupon campaign, he provided the theme for dancing-academy programs, he occupied a Carnival float. For twenty years he reigned, increasing his fame with the Frog Circus, on the chil-

³ Other newspapers ridiculed the innovation. The heaviest-handed satire appeared in the *Daily States* January 24, 1880, a burlesque column headed by the picture of a gargantuan fly chasing a diminutive man, and beginning, "Biz!-z-z-z-z-guroo-oo-OO-yum-m-yum-m-m-!!!!!"

dren's page, where he presided over the performances of children singled out for notice.⁴

Department after department Pearl Rivers added—daring innovations then, the bone and sinew of newspapers now: Lilliput Land, for the young people; fashions for women; fashions for men; theatricals on a new and enlarged scale; personal notes; hints for the home, including next day's menu; medical advice; science; agricultural development; pithy comment (no columnist has ever written more humorously and more illuminatingly than Nat Burbank's "Picayunes"); light discussions of the day's topics by Mr. William Goat; comic drawings, the forerunner of the Sunday funnies and the daily strip; etc., etc. In fiction, her discriminating literary taste presented such authors as H. G. Wells, Rudyard Kipling, Julian Hawthorne, Frank R. Stockton, Émile Zola, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Joel Chandler Harris, and A. Conan Doyle. She made the Sunday newspaper the library of the masses; and at the same time she developed and expanded the news coverage.

Headlines took on a new zip, though occasionally they contained such words as onychophagous and proboscisology. The display was conservative, in one-column form with many banks generally, but sometimes the news exploded across several columns, even the full page.

By 1892 the *Daily Picayune* was taking fourteen thousand words of telegraph a day, twice the volume of five years before. Presidential messages, it ran in full, and laid heavy emphasis on national and international developments. Its coverage, at times, ran to majestic length—eleven and a half columns on the funeral services of Pope Pio Nono, February 20, 1878, to give a few random examples; ten and a half columns on the Sullivan-Kilrain fight, July 9, 1889; fourteen and a half columns to the unveiling of the Lee monument, February 23, 1884; twenty-two columns to the funeral of

⁴ The Weather Frog's last appearance was December 27, 1914, eight months after the merger of the *Daily Picayune* with the *Times-Democrat*. His originality was dimmed and his stature was diminished by a different artist.

Jefferson Davis, December 12, 1889; all of Page 1 and a large run-over to two big fires, April 4, 1892; sixteen columns to the opening of a convention urging the Nicaragua route for a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, December 1, 1892.

Since 1872 the *Daily Picayune* had maintained a Washington correspondent. On December 14, 1893, it announced the opening of its Jackson, Mississippi, bureau; and on July 6, 1896, issued its first special edition, twenty-four pages devoted to the development of Mississippi, which it delivered by special train that made the run to Memphis, 394 miles away, in eleven hours: enthusiastic crowds met the train at each station.

The first political cartoon appeared April 18, 1896, a five-column drawing by Winterhalder. It was the climax of the *Daily Picayune's* campaign, in the days of the Citizens' League, that played such an important part in the election of Walter C. Flower mayor.

To cover a Congressional survey of jetty-development possibilities at the mouth of the Mississippi, the newspaper, in January, 1897, chartered the steam yacht "Argo." She was sunk in collision, and two reporters were drowned—H. P. Hester and F. B. De Blesine, the first *Picayune* men to lose their lives in the line of duty, though many had already put themselves to the hazard of death.

Until 1884 the largest number of illustrations the *Daily Picayune* ran in one year was five. Pearl Rivers saw the news value of pictures. In 1885 the paper ran twenty-two cuts, the next year thirty-two; after that, the pages were pretty well peppered with art. These were chalk-plate drawings. The first half-tone appeared November 22, 1900, but chalk plates continued to appear for a long time after that.

Advertising, which up to the 1870's had clothed itself in body type, began to develop display. A border of pipe, emphasizing a variety of connections, in a two-column advertisement of a plumbing establishment September 3, 1880, was the first suggestion of a "box." The first real box, made of line rule, appeared June 8, 1882

—it contained resolutions of respect, by the Italian Society, to the memory of Garibaldi, who had recently died. After September 20, 1885, the composing room abandoned the queer style of running advertising display lines through column rules. The first organized attempt at a Christmas edition was made on December 19, 1880, when the regular Sunday issue of twelve pages was expanded to sixteen.

Advancing its advertising rates on January 14, 1883, the *Daily Picayune* remarked with obvious satisfaction that if the higher cost drove away some business, there would be “more room for reading matter.” The new scale was \$1.50 a square, or three-quarters of an inch, one column wide, for the first run, 75 cents for each repeat; classified, 10 cents a line; 25 per cent extra for two-column space, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent extra for three-column; cuts, 25 per cent extra. For standing advertisements, the rate was \$18 a month a square, six times a week; Sundays extra. Business increased, and to get its additional space for news, the paper had to add more pages.

The love of animals which had influenced Pearl Rivers’ life and inspired such important creations in her newspaper, brought forth an important civic development. For some years, Henry Bergh had been crusading, in Northern cities, for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. To the *Daily Picayune*, this had been a subject for such wise-cracking as “We want a Bergh in New Orleans—an iceberg” (July 13, 1875, repeated June 21, 1877). But Pearl Rivers carried his crusade to New Orleans.

Denouncing the dogfights in the French cockpit at Dumaine and Roman streets, the *Daily Picayune*, on May 27, 1878, threw down the challenge in these words: “The civilization and morality of any people may be correctly measured by their public pastimes. Nations addicted to brutal and bloody shows are essentially beastly and cruel. None but a depraved heart takes pleasure in the pain of man or beast.” Its editorial of January 16, 1879, on “Horse and Mule Beating” brought the issue still closer home. An aroused public opinion forced the authorities to deny a permit, next month,

for a show in which twenty-one bulldogs were to demonstrate how living flesh could be torn and living bones crunched; and for a bullfight, in 1880. Beginning July 19, 1879, the *Daily Picayune* printed, day after day, the inadequate ordinance on cruelty to animals: "whoever shall wantonly, maliciously or cruelly beat, maim, disable, starve, or otherwise ill-treat any domesticated animals, shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding \$100, or imprisoned not exceeding three months, or both, at the discretion of the court." The *Daily Picayune* led the campaign that forced through the state law of 1882 to protect animals. Lax enforcement evoked this flaming indictment, March 23, 1884: "We believe there is more cruelty practiced toward animals in New Orleans than in any other city in the United States. . . . What other city would have tolerated the sight of two helpless, crippled and starved old horses being dragged from one end of the town to the other in a street parade? That was done on the streets of New Orleans on Mardi Gras day, and considered rare sport. We have since learned that the two old horses died after they had been released from their tormentors. But there are plenty more like them, and if their companions in old age, pain, starvation and cruel bondage could be marshalled together, the sound of their hopeless neighing and the sight of their sores and bare bones would appall the stoutest hearts and bring tears even to the eyes of those who conceived the brilliant idea of parading their dumb misery and calling it fun."

In May, Pearl Rivers organized the first Band of Mercy in New Orleans,⁵ and in November, opened a department in the paper entitled "Nature's Dumb Nobility," and gave New Orleans this slogan: "Kindness, Justice, Mercy to All." Other Bands of Mercy were organized. Public opinion was so thoroughly aroused that on October 9, 1888, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in New Orleans—not an organization like the

⁵ Band of Mercy Pledge: "I will be kind to all harmless living creatures, and try to protect them from cruel usage." The badge was a five-pointed star, with the inscription, "Kindness, Justice, Mercy to All."

carpetbaggers' agency of graft and theft, but the organization which we know today.

When Pearl Rivers took charge, the *Daily Picayune* was printing four pages on Mondays, eight on other weekdays, and twelve on Sundays; in the afternoon edition, two to four pages; in the weekly, sixteen pages. At her death, twenty years later, it was printing sixteen pages on weekdays and thirty-two on Sundays, and the columns had been lengthened, since October 21, 1885, from 19½ to 21 inches. The type was a little larger, but the content of the columns was still two thousand words. The impetus she gave it sent the paper to forty pages on September 1, 1896, and fifty-two on September 1, 1897, when the annual business review was presented; and on March 4, 1899, she put the weekly on a twice-a-week basis, ten pages at first, then twelve and fourteen. After March 17, 1879, the Monday paper was included in the regular subscription price, \$12 a year, of the daily. The bi-weekly continued at the old weekly price, \$1 a year.

She dropped afternoon publication late in 1884, for the entry of the *City Item* in 1877 and of the *Daily States* in 1880 into that field made this service unnecessary—it had never been of substantial profit. In 1893 the *Daily Picayune* absorbed the *New Orleans Delta*, an anti-lottery organ which issued from May 12, 1890, to May 6, 1893.

The circulation of the *Daily Picayune* in 1878, according to the American Newspaper Directory, was 6000, daily and Sunday. The *Times* had the same weekday circulation, but did not issue on Sunday. The rest of the field, *Deutsche Zeitung*, *L'Abeille*, and the *Democrat*, had only half as much.

For its September 1, 1880, issue, containing the annual business review, the *Daily Picayune* claimed 40,000 copies. For the Carnival editions of the 1890's, it claimed a circulation of 100,000. In 1891, according to the American Newspaper Directory of N. W. Ayer and Son, the *Daily Picayune* had a circulation of 19,000 on weekdays, 30,000 on Sundays. The closest competitor was the *Times*—

Democrat, formed by the merger of the *Times* and the *Democrat* in 1881—17,738 on weekdays, 28,480 on Sundays. The *Daily States* was third—12,750 daily, 12,200 Sundays. While the population of New Orleans increased from 216,090 in 1880 to 242,039 in 1890, the *Daily Picayune* more than tripled its circulation and influence.

The *Daily Picayune* cut in a new press on October 21, 1885, and a larger one on April 17, 1892, both Hoes; and in the fall of 1892, installed fifteen Mergenthaler linotypes.⁶ The presses printed from stereotype plates on roll paper, which eliminated hand-feeding. The capacity of the first was 12,000 eight-page papers an hour; the capacity of the second, 24,000 papers of eight, ten, or twelve pages, all pasted and folded.

Hand-compositors had been able to set 50,000 ems of body type in a work-week of forty-nine hours; with the linotype, a man could then set as much as 280,000 ems in the same time, which was breath-taking for the period, though it compares poorly with present-day records of 500,000 ems in a forty-two-hour week.⁷ But the calm of the composing room, which had been emphasized by the gentle clicking of type as it was assembled in the sticks, was sadly disturbed by the clatter and bang of the machines.⁸

⁶ For more than half a century inventors had tried to solve the problem of mechanical type setting and distribution. Stories thrilling in their promise had appeared from time to time in the country's newspapers. The first report in the *Daily Picayune* appeared April 7, 1842. It announced that a typesetting machine had been built in London. On January 3, 1847, the *Daily Picayune* reported such a machine had been "just put in operation in New York." On September 3 and 6, 1872, the *Daily Picayune* printed lengthy descriptions of a typesetting and type-distributing machine installed in the office of the New York *Times*. This was the Alden machine. Described as "the invention of the nineteenth century," it was operated by steam or footpower, and could set 3000 ems an hour, or four times as much as the most rapid hand-compositor, according to the claims made for it. It sold for \$1500. But the hopes it raised withered as use exposed defects in the design. It remained for Mergenthaler to free the graphic arts from the bondage of type cases.

⁷ One thousand ems of body type (7½ point) now fill fifty lines of a *Times-Picayune* column, occupying five and a half column inches of space.

⁸ Which inspired a pleasant extravagance April 1, 1893. Seeking to relieve the noise with sustained and melodious sound, one of the printers (so it was recorded) attached a small boiler, with a whistle, to the pot in which the linotype metal was melted, and it worked so well that he put on more whistles, of different pitch, and achieved the

Little time for poetry had Pearl Rivers, in the responsibilities of newspaper publication. "Hagar" and "Leah," published, respectively, in 1893 and 1894 in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*; and an occasional lyric for the *Daily Picayune*, among them "Only a Dog," were the dying flashes of her bright, poetical fires. Death found her making a collection from old files, without enthusiasm, for another volume of verse. She contributed a great deal of prose to the paper, some of it anonymously, as in the women's section which was always under her direction, even after it had outgrown the capacity of any one person; some of it of high enough imaginative quality to carry her signature—for instance, the "Leonard and I" series, and the "Cherry Wood Desk" series.⁹ The world of fancy is the poorer for her silence in poetry, but the world of abundant life is the

chromatic scale. Then he attached the whistle cords to the linotype keys, so that appropriate music would eventuate when type was being set. "There are now several calliopes in full operation. A negro cutting affray is set to the tune of 'Razors in the Air'; 'How Hogan Pays his Rent' goes with a tenement house scrape; 'I Want a Situation' is the accompaniment of the Want Ads. appealing for employment. 'Brady' is the general choice for matters political. 'If I Could But Pick the Winner' is played with the racing copy. The society copy calls for music of a higher class. 'The Swedish Wedding March' goes with the account of a nuptial ceremony in the upper ten. Religious matters are set to the strains of 'Stabat Mater,' 'Cujis Animam' or other famous pieces; and to-night, Easter copy will be set to choice selections."

⁹ This quotation from the first of the "Leonard and I" series illustrates the beauty of Pearl Rivers' prose:

"The doodle lives in a small hole, about the size of a black-eyed pea, that runs straight and smoothly down into the earth to about the depth of eighteen inches. . . .

"I have taught Leonard to be an adept in the innocent art of catching doodles. This is the way he goes about it. Selecting a long, smooth straw from a bunch of sedge grass, he bites off the soft end. He then spits on the ground, and makes up a small lump of dough. Into this dough, he dips the straw, and the small portion that adheres is doodle bait. Cautiously approaching a hole, he inserts the straw until it comes to a stop. He then moves it gently up and down and wiggles it about to wake up the doodle. In a few minutes, he whispers excitedly, 'He's biting, mama!'

"Pull quick!" I whisper back, and if he has good luck, after two or three ineffectual attempts, up comes the straw with a long, creamy, ringy, part-worm, part-caterpillar looking attachment that has a pair of sharp forceps, six short legs, a helmet on its head, and a hump on its back, which, in ignorance of its scientific name, we call—a doodle.

"After tickling the queer creature with the straw to see him jump and hump himself about, my tender-hearted little fisherman carefully places it near the edge of its cell and laughs to see it quickly slide down backward. Then he turns to me with the dreadful question, 'Mama, what are doodles, and what do they turn into?'"

richer for her public service: and who shall say that the building of a newspaper, the saving of animals from torture, and the improvement of conditions in one's community, to say nothing about the beautification of the lives of one's children, are not poetry in the fundamental sense—that of creation?

George Nicholson died February 4, 1896, from a congestion of the lungs induced by an attack of grippe. He was nearly seventy-six.

Eleven days later, death again visited the home at Jackson avenue and Carondelet street. Pearl Rivers died February 15, from the same malady. She was only forty-seven. This double loss shocked the community and stunned the staff. Far and wide, newspaper comment reflected the importance of this great team's contribution to journalism and to community welfare.

"A newspaper," said the heartbroken editorial in the *Daily Picayune*, "is far more like a living creature than a mere inanimate thing. It has an individuality of its own, and it always savors most of those who control its character and its destinies. The personality which most impressed itself on the *Picayune* was that of the lovely woman whose death to-day so many in the city mourn."

"Hardly a philanthropic institution in the city," said the *Times-Democrat*, "hardly one of the many benevolent schemes constantly set up in New Orleans to benefit the deserving poor or the helpless but found in Mrs. Nicholson an ardent sympathizer, a powerful helper with voice, money, labor, time and pen."

An iris-bordered lagoon in City Park, the Pearl Rivers Memorial, was dedicated to her honor April 20, 1932.

Progress

THE NINETIES, now emphasized for gayety alone, were a sensational decade which brought forth such developments as the automobile, the X-ray, the motion picture, and radium; saw Robert Edwin Peary, who had been engineer on the Nicaragua canal survey in the 1880's, begin the methodical explorations which carried the American flag to the North Pole, April 6, 1909; witnessed the Alaska gold rush; yielded many disasters of nature; and, besides mounting labor unrest in this country, produced abroad a heavy crop of wars—the Chinese-Japanese of 1894, the Italian-Ethiopian of 1896, the Turkish-Greek of 1897, the Spanish-American of 1898, and in 1899, the year of the first Hague Peace Conference, the Philippine-American and the British-South African, followed, in 1900, by China's Boxer insurrection and the occupation of Peking by the foreign allies August 14.

It was a decade, too, that saw the United States swing into a new destiny, and Louisiana emerge into a new outlook.

In New Orleans, the great snowstorm of February 13, 1895, which gave the city more sleigh-riding and snow-balling than it had ever known; the ice floating down the river in February, 1899—the first time in nearly three quarters of a century—and so crowding the Mississippi that steamboat travel was hazardous, were omens of mighty eventuations.

Society not only discarded the hoop-skirt, but gave its blessing

to a garb which had shaken the moral foundations a few decades before. "The Bloomer Girl is an Institution, and Blushing Prejudice has Ceased to Protest" proclaimed the *Daily Picayune*, March 4, 1896. The garb was the outward and visible challenge of the "New Woman," and the emancipation movement even questioned the usefulness of the chaperone, but old-fashioned ideas refused to budge from this stronghold. Feminine efficiency discarded the "trained dress," fashionable for street wear as the nineties opened, but style insisted on the leg-of-mutton sleeve, and women were as broad above as formerly they had been below. They still cherished the in-and-out figure of corsets.

Bloomers inspired knickerbockers for men, who achieved further distinction in appearance by four-inch collars of gleaming stiffness, and large gold safety pins to hold boutonnieres in place. In 1900 the "shirtwaist" man made his bid for attention, and received so much that he put on his coat and has kept it on ever since.

The parlor flourished, that torture chamber of stately deportment for receiving "duty" callers on "at home" days. Onyx tables, gilt chairs, and brass beds were the Plimsoll mark of homes with social pretensions. Porcelain bathtubs began to supplant the zinc abominations in middle-class houses, but the water was sparingly used because of the limited supply in cisterns. Gas cookstoves became popular. Rattan furniture achieved such a rage that a factory was opened in New Orleans. Wealthy families built screened sanctuaries on the front porches, but most of the people fought off the clouds of mosquitoes with palmetto fans, and everybody slept under "mosquito bars," which in the best houses depended from tall "testers."

New Orleans saw its first football game January 1, 1890. It was played at Sportsmen's Park on the New Basin canal near the bridge at the Metairie cemetery entrance, by teams which collegiates, home for the holidays, organized to help the Charity Hospital fund. The teams were named Yale and Princeton. Occupying three quarters of a column, the *Daily Picayune's* report next morning

began with these words: "Yesterday's fairness nowhere appeared to better advantage than upon the broad green field at Sports-men's Park, with sturdy, picturesque oaks at the far end and the grand stand filled with the choicest flowers of New Orleans society. The popularity of the handsome, athletic young men who took part in the football game was flatteringly shown in the select yet large number of spectators who cheered them on to heroic work in the field." The game was not finished, because someone kicked the only ball into the canal, the bladder broke, and it sank, before the first forty-five minute "inning" was ended, and the score, as we learn from the next-to-the-last paragraph, was 0-0. The sport "took" immediately, but if some prophet had risen up to declare that in time it would fill Tulane University's 70,000-seat stadium to groaning capacity, everyone in that crowd of a few hundred would have hooted at him.

T. L. Bayne, who had played with Walter Camp on the Yale team, in 1892 organized the first home-team in Louisiana, that of the Southern Athletic Club, composed of veterans of Eastern elevens and untried home talent. Its goal line was not crossed until November 19, 1894, when Sewanee, or the University of the South, piled up 10 points to S.A.C.'s 18. In 1893 Bayne organized football in Tulane University and Louisiana State University, coached both teams, and acted as referee when, on November 25, Tulane won a 38-0 victory, thereby avenging the drubbing in baseball the State University had given it the spring before.

To promotion of the sport, the *Daily Picayune* enthusiastically opened its columns. Its first cartoon, November 30, 1893, was on football. That same year, it commented on the long hair which football made fashionable for men, the "scrubbing brush, the chrysanthemum and the mop" styles; and four years later, it described, with careful detail, "the terrible football face."¹

¹ Touchdowns at that time counted four points, goals-kicked two. Halves were shortened to thirty and twenty-five minutes. It was a crash-and-batter game. At the kickoff, the receiving side charged down the field in a wedge, an attack which Bayne solved by coaching one player, who weighed 250 pounds, to throw himself down immediately

In 1891 Louisiana became the first state to legalize boxing, and in September, 1892, the Olympia Athletic Club staged a three-day glove carnival, in which the highlight was the twenty-one round knockout victory of Corbett over Sullivan for a \$21,000 purse and a side-bet of \$10,000. McAuliffe knocked out Myer in fifteen rounds, Dixon beat Skelly in eight. The Sullivan-Corbett box office totaled \$60,318, according to the *Daily Picayune*; the Olympia Club netted \$42,649.90 on the fights.

Heralded by a tiny advertisement, "Edison's Wonderful Vitascope" entered New Orleans via the open-air stage built over the water at West End, on Sunday, June 28, 1896. This was two months after the first showing to the general public, on April 23 in New York, at Koster and Bial's Music Hall on the site of Macy's department store of today. It caused no excitement whatever. A few weeks later, Vitascope Hall, at Canal street and Exchange Alley, began to advertise, in a two-inch space, such moving pictures as Corbett and Courtney's Knockout Prize Fight, Shooting the Chutes, The May Irwin and John Rice Kiss, The Annabella Serpentine Dance, and Niagara Falls. The hours were 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., 7 to 11 P.M.; the admission charge, ten cents.

Population figures of 1890 do not show the relative progress of the South with the rest of the country. By that census, the United States increased nearly ten and three-quarter million to 62,947,714, and it counted six new states, the Dakotas, Montana, and Washington, admitted in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming, in 1890; Louisi-

in front of the wedge, and another, who was a star jumper, to catapult himself into the formation. The forward pass was illegal, though an underhand lateral was permissible. End runs, center bucks, and tackle plunges were the principal plays, varied occasionally by heaving the quarterback, if he were light enough, with the ball across the scrimmage line. The ball was in play until the carrier hollered "down," and it was a point of honor for him not to holler "down" as long as his side was pushing him forward. It was a point of strategy for the other side to keep him from hollering "down," by the pressure of human bodies, when it was pushing him backward. On wet days, the players became so covered with mud that it was hard to say who was who. There is a story that Rufus E. Foster, now judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans, scored a winning touchdown because the wrong team dragged him, a mass of mud, across the goal line,

ana, adding its fifty-ninth parish, Acadia, in 1886, with a population of 12,231 in 1890, increased 179,000, to 1,118,588; New Orleans 26,000 to 242,039. More revealing were the figures lifted by the *Daily Picayune*, August 2, 1892, from the *Manufacturers' Record* showing an enormous expansion in agricultural, mineral, financial, and business development of a South that felt the stirring of a new strength—railroad mileage nearly doubled in ten years; crop values nearly 25 per cent greater; four times as much coal mined, more than three times as much pig iron produced; capital in the national banks more than doubled.² The South's 9,000,000-bale cotton crop of 1891 emphasized the need of a picking machine, progress on which the *Daily Picayune* had been hopefully reporting since 1886. The cottonseed oil industry increased from 40 mills representing an investment of \$3,500,000 in 1880, to 194 in 1890, valued at \$30,000,000, which were producing 37,000,000 gallons of oil a year.

New Orleans entered the decade, according to the annual trade review in the *Daily Picayune*, September 1, 1890, with bank clearings of \$521,484,618, a gain of \$38,634,871 over the year before; imports of \$14,225,450, a loss of \$1,221,295; and exports of \$108,294,736, a gain of \$25,369,854. Next year's business was not so good, because of the depressed cotton market, but the import movement

² The *Daily Picayune* on August 2, 1892, quoted these figures on Southern development from the *Manufacturers' Record*:

	1881	1891
Assessed value of property	\$2,913,436,095	\$4,816,396,896
Ditto, per capita	\$187	\$271
Railroad mileage	23,811	44,805
Cotton crop, bales	5,456,000	9,000,000
Grain yield, bushels	404,301,000	672,459,000
Value, chief agricultural crops	\$749,000,000	\$926,000,000
Coal mined, tons	6,000,000	23,000,000
Pig iron produced, tons	451,540	1,914,000
Phosphate rock, tons	266,000	650,000
Capital in cottonseed oil mills	\$3,504,000	\$30,000,000
Number of national banks	223	640
Capital of national banks	\$45,000,000	\$99,905,405
Exports from Southern ports	\$257,535,000	\$349,801,000

continued to grow. The city which in 1881 bragged about the 9226 bales of cotton which arrived on the steamboat "Henry Frank"—the all-time record—saw record after record made in ocean shipment—14,898 bales aboard the "Montezuma" in November, 1894; 18,326 aboard the "Maroa" a month later; and 20,535 aboard the "Monarch" three years later plus 60,000 bushels of corn, 11,200 sacks of cottonseed, and 29,068 oak staves, the largest cargo—able to fill six hundred freight cars—ever to leave an American port, according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 26, 1897. The same ship beat that record in 1898.

Hard times, the result of over-speculation and a diminishing supply of cheap land, which launched William Jennings Bryan's first presidential campaign in 1896 with a Populist background, had their repercussions in the South, but not on such a violent scale as hurled the bomb at Financier Russell Sage on December 4, 1891; precipitated the bloody clash between Pinkerton guards and strikers at the steel mills in Homestead, Pennsylvania, July 6, 1892; sent Jacob S. Coxey and his "army" of twenty thousand unemployed to Washington, April 29, 1894, demanding bread;³ and paralyzed railroad operation throughout the country two months later, when thousands of mine, Pullman and railroad men went on strike, with huge losses in life and property before Federal troops brought peace.

New Orleans' most serious labor troubles were the longshoremen's strike of March, 1892, and the screwmen's riots of October, 1894, and March, 1895, when white and Negro workers clashed furiously. "Murder Stains the City Wharves," said the *Daily Picayune's* seven-column streamer March 13, 1895. The Washington Artillery mounted its pieces on the wharves, ships were loaded under militia guard until order was restored after breathless weeks. During this period, thousands of bales of warehoused cotton were destroyed by fire.

³ "The Coxey movement is the first open outbreak of socialism in the United States. Socialism begins with mobs and ends with a despotism." *Daily Picayune*, May 3, 1894, editorial.

Retail merchandise clerks in December, 1891, won their demand for a 6 P.M. closing hour, except on Saturdays; streetcar men won a strike in 1892 for a twelve-hour day and a wage of \$50 a month, but lost one in 1893 for ten hours and \$60.

During the Cleveland election period, the printers of the *Daily Picayune* joined the four-day general strike called, in New Orleans, in 1892. Staff men got out the paper without missing an edition, setting the type themselves—four pages on November 8, eight on subsequent days with the help of the *Times-Democrat's* linotypes.⁴

Stirring to new violence after the Johnstown disaster of May 31, 1889, when more than 2200 lives were lost, Nature scourged with flood and storm and pestilence.

Through the decade the Mississippi river poured down increasing destruction. The gauge at New Orleans registered 16.7 feet in 1890, 17.6 feet in 1892, and 19.5 feet in 1896. Dozens of crevasses spread ruin in Louisiana and in the lower-river states. Easter—April 18—in 1896 found New Orleans in a panic, with water washing over the levees, and thousands of men laboring to hold the straining ramparts against the overwhelming current. Without the present-day facilities that make the work routine, the *Daily Pica-*

⁴ Catharine Cole's article in the *Daily Picayune*, November 20, 1892, says T. G. Rapier, business manager, got out the paper after receiving a message from Pearl Rivers that her heart would be broken if it failed to issue. Staff members who took their places at the cases mentioned by her were the Rev. Nelson Ayres, editorial writer; Herman J. Seiferth, reporter; Harry McEnery, sports writer; William M. Robinson, city editor; Louis Cormier, who covered the waterfront; and M. M. Healy of the business office. Willie F. Fox, a printer's devil, performed yeoman service. It was heart-rending, wrote Catharine Cole, to see "Mr. Seiferth, Mr. Foster and Mr. Guy Armstrong, all three, engaged in setting up one word. A printer's case is a series of little square [*sic*] boxes, with the types variously at hand. A's and e's and other vowels are the most accessible, and spaces are near at hand. Z's and X-boxes are down in the corners, where the least used letters are out of the way. These three green compositors got hold of a large primer. They cut out all the letters and laid one in each box—the A in the a-box, etc. At a given signal, one would call the first word on the copy; No. 2 would point to the box containing the proper letter; and No. 3 would pick it out and place it in the composing stick. That they utterly forgot to put in spaces except where they did not belong; that they had a serene contempt for such mere detail as caps and double leads, one needed only to be referred to the *Picayune* of the next morning to be assured. It is not to be wondered at that it took the business manager until daylight to read the alleged proof."

yune reported flood developments on an enormous front with astonishing speed and detail.⁵

Hurricanes lashed the seaboard from South Carolina to Louisiana from August 28 to October 2, 1893; death toll, three thousand, nearly half of it in Louisiana. The quarantine station on Ship Island was swept away, only the lighthouse at Fort Livingston was left; fishing communities in the lower part of the state were wiped out. The *Daily Picayune* chartered a relief boat and sent it, loaded with the necessities of life, into the stricken sections: thanks to these ministrations, hundreds, if not thousands, were saved who otherwise would have perished from exposure and hunger. It was the most appalling disaster of the decade, but it would be exceeded on September 8, 1900, when a hurricane smote Galveston and destroyed six thousand lives.

Compared with previous visitations, New Orleans' yellow fever epidemic of 1897 was a small one, with 1878 reported cases and 281 deaths, according to the *Daily Picayune*. But that the plague should have returned, despite the quarantine system on which the city placed such reliance, threw the people into a panic, as the newspaper reported, from early in September, when the infection spread from Ocean Springs, Mississippi, rising each week to larger totals,

⁵ "High water was a real news department," says F. Duval Armstrong, a reporter of that period, in the *Times-Picayune* of January 25, 1937. "It was front-page stuff for months and it was up to the newspapers themselves to go after and get all the high-water news they printed. There was no agency then to consolidate the scattered reports into a completed story and hand it over to the newspaper via the Associated Press or army-engineer route.

"When spring indicated a higher flood season than usual, the newspapers, and particularly the *Picayune* because it specialized in that character of news, systematically planned to cover any emergency which might arise. Once the high water had arrived, many long hours were spent hanging on inefficient long-distance telephone wires. When a crevasse actually threatened or occurred, the staff men were sent to the scene and stayed there until the original levee was either closed or work abandoned if the effort to close the crevasse failed. When the water ran wild through the country, it was up to the reporter to rent a skiff and follow the flood. It was up to him to write what he saw and draw pictures if he could."

"Sixty Miles in a Skiff" read the caption of a news story in the *Daily Picayune* of July 3, 1893, describing the devastation as seen by a toiling reporter.

until cold weather set in. Far and wide, shotgun quarantines were erected against New Orleans.

Politics in New Orleans reached such a state of corruption that by mid-decade many members of the City Council were arrested on the charge of taking bribes, and Mayor John Fitzpatrick was the target of impeachment proceedings. To the venality of men in high places was due the horrible moral condition of the city, the outward and visible and audible signs of which were the concert saloons of Royal street, against which the *Daily Picayune* waged such a long fight—sinks exceeded in vileness only by Smoky Row, that stretch of Negro prostitution on Burgundy street between Bienville and Conti, for years “the worst section in the city,” as the *Daily Picayune* said October 8, 1896. Fitzpatrick was acquitted March 14, 1895, but four and a half months of ventilating public affairs, during his trial, showed the people what a Frankenstein’s monster politics had grown to be. This launched the reform campaign of the Citizens’ League and won the election of Walter C. Flower to the mayoralty. The *Daily Picayune* was an important factor.

From that revolt also stemmed the Constitutional Convention of 1898. Meeting in Mechanics’ Institute, in New Orleans, the hundred and thirty-four delegates confected, between February 8 and May 12, a Constitution which contained 325 articles, 69 more than the Constitution of 1879, many of which treated subjects of ordinary statute law, for Louisiana has always been extreme in incorporating into its Constitutions matters of ordinary legislation.

Of the new Constitution, the principal objective was to disfranchise as many Negroes and as few whites as possible, in order to establish white political supremacy which had been threatened by the Negro Republican vote in 1896. It did this by writing in an educational and understanding requirement for suffrage, which, it was estimated, not more than 10 per cent of the Negroes could pass; and a property qualification (\$300 assessed valuation) and a grandfather’s clause (no descendant of a man qualified to vote be-

fore January 1, 1867, could be denied the ballot) which preserved the vote for even the most uneducated whites.

This nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment was acclaimed, by those who are loose with adjectives, as the greatest achievement in the history of Louisiana.

The new Constitution also made the governor and the state treasurer ineligible to succeed themselves; increased the efficiency of the judicial system, and made its operation more economical; increased the number of state senators from 36 to 39, and of state representatives from 98 to 114; removed the prohibition against legislative granting of charters in cities of 2500 population or more; set up a State Board of Appraisers to assess the railway, telephone, telegraph, sleeping-car, and express company properties; granted a ten-year tax exemption to railroads for new construction completed before 1904; and enlarged the provisions for education.

"Unable to secure permission to operate a trolley system of electric cars," as the *Daily Picayune* related on December 25, 1890, the New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad brought out a new mule car which gave the public a hint of what the new power might mean to transportation. In place of the bell strap, there was an electric button beside each window, for signaling a stop. The novelty was so entrancing that enthusiastic passengers almost wore out the three dry batteries on the first run. Officials celebrated the innovation with copious pourings of champagne.

Eventually, the coyness of the city government in the matter of franchises was overcome, and on July 13, 1892, the silver spike was driven, at St. Charles and Howard avenues, for New Orleans' first electric car line. Fifty-nine years had passed since railroad construction entered the city on that same street. Fifty cars were ordered—a delightful green in color; capacity, thirty passengers each. The powerhouse at Tchoupitoulas and Berlin, as General Pershing was then named, streets, 131 by 136 feet, contained three generators, capable of piling up 1000 horsepower. After a trial run on January

28, 1893, from Napoleon avenue to Carrollton, the system went into general operation on February 1. The excitement was tremendous.⁶ The *Daily Picayune* observed in an editorial of March 13 that the two-men crews on electric cars should be able to subdue the hoodlums who made travel on the mule cars, especially late at night, so dangerous.

Then there was a mighty tearing up of the streets and a laying of tracks for the new transportation by the other companies. Two track gauges were used, which necessitated another laying of tracks after the turn of the century brought consolidation. For a time, street transportation development was so rapid that the generators could not move cars and keep the city lights going at the same time. Of the 1114 lights for which the city was paying \$125 a year each, according to the *Daily Picayune* of September 25, 1894, two thirds were dark. Later that year, several car lines were ordered to suspend operation until generating capacity could be increased. By October 10, 1896, the *Daily Picayune* reported that with the electrifying of the Claiborne and Tulane avenue lines, the "bounding mule" had been entirely displaced as a means of mass transportation. This was not quite true, for the Girod street line continued

⁶ *Daily Picayune*, February 2, 1893: "Yesterday, for the first time, New Orleans rode by wire. The experience proved delightful, safe and successful. . . . Those persons who persistently fought the introduction of this means of rapid transit will now take a back seat. . . .

"Promptly at 10, the gay, spic and span green cars were drawn up on Carrollton avenue for the trip to the foot of Baronne, the present terminal of the road.

"The street was filled with spectators, and ladies in private carriages drove up to see the start. . . . Teachers and pupils of McDonogh No. 23 were drawn up before the gate to greet with a rousing cheer the first electric car. . . . The cars looked gay as Easter bonnets. . . . The camera fiend took a shot, Mr. Haile gave the signal to start, and as gently as a leaf drifting on a summer river, the car rolled along Carrollton avenue, into St. Charles, and pompously as any Carnival king made its triumphant way to Canal street. . . .

"A great many horses and darkies had panics of fright on the avenue. The colored, who call the cars 'election cars,' stared white-eyed' and grinning. On the first uptown trip, a negro woman passenger finally signalled the conductor to stop and said, 'Fo' Gawd, Mister, lemme git out o' this!'

under mule power until July, 1899, but that was an inconsequential stretch of track, over which cars operated sporadically. Electric cars displaced the steam dummy to West End, July 16, 1898.

One of the principal diversions of the 1890's was the trolley ride. A host would charter an open car, profusely decorated with colored bulbs, and fill it with guests, ice cream and cake, and cruise about the city. It was a pleasant relief from the lawn parties, so vulnerable to mosquito attack. In 1900 one of the Carnival organizations presented its street pageant on trolley cars, but this was not a success. The parade was two hours late, and the absence of the mules and the flambeaux-bearers made the adventure stale and unprofitable.

Electric lighting expanded. On June 8 the *Daily Picayune* reported that throughout the United States, five million bulbs were in use, and that manufacture was at the rate of fifty thousand a day. In New Orleans, the cost of the service was so high that only the wealthy could afford it; gas, kerosene, and candles continued to be the illuminant of the rest of the people, according to their economic status. But development was rapid enough—together with the multiplication of the telephone—to cloud the sky, on many streets, with wires. To the great relief of the kite-flying boys, all wires were ordered underground, after years of agitation, in March, 1899. By this time, the City Council had also ordered the removal of the tall iron towers built when electric lighting was introduced to support clusters of arc lights on the theory that these would suffuse the city with a glow as from many moons. The system had not worked, and the towers, straddling street intersections, became traffic hazards.

New Orleans put its fire department on a pay basis in 1891, and the volunteer companies became a glamorous memory. It started with a "plant" valued at \$118,160, according to the *Daily Picayune* of November 24; salaries ranged from \$3000 a year for the chief engineer, to \$70 a month for drivers. On January 8, 1891, the city dedicated its Confederate War Museum, on Camp street adjoining

the Howard Memorial Library. That same year it celebrated the seventeenth anniversary of the Battle of September 14 against carpetbaggers by laying the cornerstone of the Liberty monument at the head of Canal street, and a few months later, unveiled the 35-foot granite shaft, designed by Charles R. Orleans, which contains the names of the heroic dead. This memorial cost \$8000.

On December 29, 1898—forty-eight years after the death of the man who had left \$750,000 to the public school system of New Orleans—the city unveiled the monument to John McDonogh in Lafayette Square. The money—\$7000—was raised by the nickels of school children. Attalio Picoirilli was the sculptor. Since then, on the first Friday in May, the public school children of New Orleans have been laying flowers there to his memory, one of the most beautiful ceremonials in the city. The Fisk Free Library was opened January 17, 1897, its home in St. Patrick's Hall, facing Lafayette Square. Its cultural influence increased down the years, enriched by many consolidations and gifts, most notable among which were those of the Simon Henshein heirs and Andrew Carnegie. The library moved to its present home on St. Charles avenue at Lee Circle in 1908. On the site, Gentry's Dog and Pony Show had for years pitched its tents.

Railroad service between New Orleans and Mandeville opened May 25, 1892, and the "Coast" train made its first run to the Mississippi Sound resorts on May 31, 1896. Transportation consolidations had made it possible to travel across the country without "changing cars," and Pullmans spread sumptuous meals, but oldsters carried enormous lunches when they went on railroad journeys. In 1894 New Orleans adopted its present street-numbering system, and the confusion incident to the change shrouded the city with a "hue of gloom," as the *Daily Picayune* stated on May 31. The abolition of the lagniappe in 1893—the old Spanish custom of giving candy or cake or some small gratuity to children and servants when they made a purchase in grocery stores,⁷ had already shocked

⁷ Lagniappe is derived from "la ñapa," which means "a small present,"

a community which revered time-honored institutions. That same year began the agitation to banish Henry Clay from Canal street. Indignant protest prevented it then, but traffic problems, not met when the majestic base of the statue was reduced to a slim pedestal, forced the removal of Joel W. Hart's heroic bronze in 1901 to Lafayette Square, where it has challengingly faced City Hall ever since, but not with the inspiration that launched great crusades in the past, judging by the recurrent political skulduggery that has been incubated there. In 1893 a water-well driller at Goldsboro, in Jefferson parish opposite Richard street, tapped a concentration of natural gas at fifty-four feet; it yielded a flame about twelve feet tall and illuminated that community; but this new hint of petroleum possibilities inspired no more exploration than had previous "shows."

Orders to close the mint reached New Orleans in October, 1895, but were rescinded.⁸ Development of a naval station at Algiers began in 1894; and, after the Spanish-American war, the government decided to enlarge the operations. As the decade closed, New Orleans was enthusiastically expecting the arrival of the enormous floating dock, about which it was to brag for nearly forty years, until its removal to Hawaii in 1940.⁹ Stuyvesant docks were opened October 28, 1896, an impressive development, and the Dock Board, organized two years before, was making progress in its policies for expanding the water-front facilities.

Bicycles launched a steady and increasing movement for better street paving and better country roads; the automobile would carry it further. America's gasoline buggy had its first pulling test in 1893, and 1895 saw an automobile race in Chicago, a 54-mile grind which Charles E. Duryea's entry won. Two years later, August 8, 1897, the *Daily Picayune* saw in the two dozen self-propelled vehicles in New York the doom of the horse. True, they cost \$1500 to

⁸ The mint at New Orleans was not closed until April, 1909. It was operated as a coinage institution from 1838 through 1861, and from 1879 to then.

⁹ The dry dock reached New Orleans, November 6, 1901, and evoked a tremendous public demonstration. The *Daily Picayune* devoted all of Page 1 and a large runover to it.

\$6000 each, but they could travel twenty miles on a gallon of gas and make almost half a mile a minute. On September 4, 1900, the horseless fire engine made its first run through New Orleans, a steam vehicle, with solid steel tires, which traveled faster than any horse could gallop, and the amazed populace rushed from house and store to watch the ponderous passing. At last the *Daily Picayune* began to use the word "automobile," which was, it apologized in its editorial of October 4, a "Greek and Latin mongrel," but it did mean self-propelling. Up to then, the paper designated the new vehicle as a "motocycle" or a "horseless carriage."

Consolidation of the ice factories in 1893 promised cheaper rates, and by the end of the decade, the retail prices were 25 cents for a hundred pounds, 15 cents for fifty, 10 cents for twenty-five; the consumption was greatly increased.

Organization of the Progressive Union, forerunner of the Association of Commerce, brought the revived confidence of New Orleans into sun-glass focus. Its first "skyscraper," the nine-story Hennen¹⁰ building at Carondelet and Common streets, built during this decade, was an *agent provocateur* of new development. Slow-moving hydraulic elevators furnished vertical transportation. In 1895 the city junked its old parish prison¹¹ and moved into a new one at Tulane avenue and Saratoga street, which in turn would give way, in 1931, to the \$1,750,000 structure at Tulane avenue and South Broad street. When the St. Charles hotel and the St. Charles theater were burned, April 29, 1894, and June 4, 1899, respectively, they were promptly rebuilt. A new building was projected for the site of the Moresque iron structure at Camp and Poydras streets, a landmark dating from the War Between the States that was destroyed in a \$700,000 fire April 15, 1897: it was to be a library building for New Orleans, but a wrangle between Frank Howard, who was to make the gift, and city authorities, caused the abandonment

¹⁰ Renamed the Maritime a generation later when a new story was added.

¹¹ This prison at Orleans and North Liberty streets was built in 1834. It was sold at auction for \$11,000 on December 12, 1894, according to the *Daily Picayune* of the next day.

of the plan, and the land was saved for the Pan American building and the present home of the *Times-Picayune*. The Tulane and Crescent theaters at University Place and Common street were built in 1898, the first playhouses in the city with electric footlights, which made a quaint memory of the "supe" with the smoking torch whose appearance stirred the gallery gods to such frenzy. These were the amusement hub of the city for nearly a third of a century, but yielded in time to the cinema and were demolished in 1937 to make room for a parking lot. For a time, in 1899 and 1900, New Orleans had two telephone systems, until the People's sold out to the Cumberland. Rates at that period were \$1.50 a month for a residential telephone, \$2.50 for a business telephone.

The yellow fever epidemic of 1897 convinced New Orleans of the sink-or-swim necessity of sanitation. On April 31, 1898, was laid the cornerstone of the central pumping plant for a new and enlarged drainage system, at People's avenue and Florida Walk—"the beginning of the grandest piece of work ever attempted by the city of New Orleans," said the *Daily Picayune* next morning, "involving, as it does or probably will before completion, the expenditure of at least ten millions of dollars." Streetcar companies would be able to abandon the high-platform cars, downtown shoppers would not have to refugee upon store counters when tropical downpours flooded the city. On June 6, 1899, the 25,000 property owners of New Orleans overwhelmingly voted a two-mill tax to support a bond issue for a sewerage system—at last throwing off "the lethargy which had enthralled" the city, exulted the *Daily Picayune's* editorial next day. On November 7, 1899, Paul Capdevielle was elected mayor on the platform of municipal waterworks, using river water, for the artesian hope had perished. A \$12,000,000 bond issue was subscribed, principally by local capital, to effectuate the sanitary program on December 16, 1900—and New Orleans was ready to go places, as it assured the Southern Industrial Convention which opened a four-day meeting in that city on December 5. This was a convocation of Southern interests to whip up the

spirit of enterprise and to put pressure behind the old, old hope of an interoceanic canal.

Seeking to localize and control an ancient evil, the New Orleans City Council on July 6, 1897, passed an ordinance restricting what were known to shuddering euphemists of the time as "houses of ill fame" to the thirty-eight block area bounded by Customhouse (Iberville), North Basin (North Saratoga), St. Louis, and North Robertson streets. The upper boundary was only a block from the city's principal business street—Canal. In the venal allurements, running the gamut of race and nationality, with copious importations of accessorial vice from all parts of the world, was reflected the cosmopolitan boast of New Orleans. Here flourished the nation's most notorious Red Light district, its prominence further enhanced when the building of the Terminal Station in 1908 made it one of the most important railroad gateways to the city. To the intense disgust of the alderman who had introduced the measure, Sidney Story, it was known throughout the land as Storyville.

Its principal thoroughfare was North Rampart street, which rivaled Canal in size and majesty. On this and on the tributary streets were erected the gaudy saloons, the lofty mansions, and the squalid cribs which enshrined sin for every taste and pocketbook. In the dollar joints, the girls wore knee-length dresses, in the \$5 establishments, full-length ballroom attire. Beer was \$1 a bottle in the elegant joints.

Storyville was the most brightly illuminated part of New Orleans. It had its own *Blue Book*, which advertised the comforts of the various establishments and the charms of the gay residents thereof. Before then, the *Mascot* and the *Sunday Sun* had presented the social activities of the demimonde in the less durable form of newsprint. Willie Piazza, known as the "countess," Josie Arlington, and Lulu White became famous, and no tourist-visit to New Orleans was complete without a dash through the district. Jazz was born there—"The Basin Street Blues" was one of its most notable expressions.

Tom Anderson, political boss of the Ward and member of the Legislature, was the unofficial mayor of Storyville. His saloon at Customhouse and Basin streets was the Town Hall. One usually began the rounds with a drink there.

Mafia

NEW ORLEANS' superintendent of police, David C. Hennessy, was shot down late on the night of October 15, 1890, as he was about to enter his home on Girod between Basin and Franklin streets. From the six heavy slugs which tore into his body, he died in Charity Hospital ten hours later. "Dagoes!" he whispered, as life was ebbing away.

"The malice, the deliberation and the firm and ferocious resolve that inspired the crime," to borrow the words of the *Daily Picayune*, threw the city into a cold fury. Everybody knew that "Dagoes" meant the Mafia, the terrorist secret society brought over from Sicily in 1880 by the bandit Esposito.

Hennessy, then a detective, had arrested Esposito who went to New Orleans in 1881; held him in the face of threats of death and a \$50,000 bribe; and put him on the ship which carried him back to Italy to expiate his crimes. The organization had waxed in strength; most of the fifteen thousand Italians who lived in New Orleans bought security in person and property from it at high prices; the Mafia's power reached deep into the political life of the city, and its gold shaped the courts to its own ends. Hennessy had continued to dig into the sinister secrets, and was known to be close to important action, when the bloody chieftains decided on his murder. At Hennessy's grave, Orleanians swore to complete his work.

"Act! Act promptly, without fear or favor!" ran the message of Mayor Joseph A. Shakspeare to the City Council, called into special session October 19. He appointed a Committee of Fifty, headed by E. H. Farrar, to investigate the crime. The forces of law and order had almost broken down—this was, constructively speaking, a return of the powers delegated by the people back to the people.

In the meantime, nineteen suspects had been arrested, and one of them had been shot down, as he crouched behind the bars, by a furious visitor. But the Committee of Fifty, at the mass meeting it convoked on the night of October 27 in Lafayette Square, expressed the sentiment of the community when it declared, "We owe it to our duty as American citizens to try the law first, and to try it thoroughly."

An assemblage estimated at four thousand, that meeting was orderly, and its attitude quelled any mob fury that might have been developing against Italians in general. The thousand gaudily garbed immigrants from Sicily who reached the city at this time found a tense but not antagonistic community. "Keep cool," was the *Daily Picayune's* steady urging. Most of the time, it carried the story inside, and presented the facts without sensation but with a detail that was a model of reporting. The better-class Italians were eager to see justice enforced, but they were afraid to give testimony, and the Committee of Fifty groped in the dark.

Some of the prisoners, however, broke down; and sixty-eight days after the assassination, the suspects were arraigned. This was on December 23.

The trial began February 16, 1891, when nine of these men were charged with murder. The courtroom, in St. Patrick's Hall, opposite Lafayette Square, was packed. Two hundred and twenty-eight witnesses were called by the defense, ninety-one by the prosecution. It took ten days to pick the jury, after the examination of hundreds of talesmen. The state did not establish the identity of the men higher-up who had ordered the murder, but the revelations left no doubt in anyone's mind about the guilt of the tools; and

when the trial ended, March 12, after arguments by counsel which consumed thirteen hours and thirty-seven minutes, everyone expected a verdict of guilty.

To avoid the possibility of an outburst, Judge Joshua G. Baker cleared the courtroom of all except attendants, lawyers, and reporters when he convened court at 2:15 P.M., March 13, to receive the verdict. In Camp street and in Lafayette Square, a huge throng silently awaited the word.

The foreman handed in the decision. The paper, as the judge unfolded it, crackled like gunfire. For almost a minute, in the *Daily Picayune's* recording, he looked at that paper before announcing the message.

Not guilty, as to six of the men; no agreement, as to three! For their safety, the judge sent them back to prison.

The crowd outside was furious. For a while, a riot threatened, but the men dispersed, growling deep in their throats, and reading in each other's eyes the same answer to the one unspoken question.

Only the day before, the *Daily Picayune* had brought into focus the rumors of weeks in an editorial about jury-tampering. That had been the resort of the Mafia when its agents were threatened by trial in the past; this outrageous verdict revealed to the people how "authoritative, formidable and unyielding" were the influences against social order, as the same newspaper said on the fourteenth.

That same issue, on Page 4, carried a call for a mass meeting at 10 A.M. at the foot of Clay statue, "to remedy the failure of justice." Seventeen years before, the manhood of New Orleans had assembled at the feet of the same champion of the rights of the people to plan their march to freedom. The call was signed by sixty-one of New Orleans' most prominent citizens. W. S. Parkerson and Colonel John C. Wickliffe headed the list.

Grim and determined, the finest manhood in New Orleans answered that call. Parkerson, Wickliffe, Walter D. Denègre, James D. Houston, and several others entered the railed enclosure,

climbed the steps of the monument and faced the tense crowd. Everyone knew the moral fiber and devoted citizenship of those leaders—the thirty-four-year-old Parkerson, gifted attorney, tested in many battles for political honesty; Wickliffe, editor of the *New Orleans Delta*; Denègre, lawyer who headed the reform movement of 1888 by the Young Men's Democratic Association, and would play a conspicuous part in that of the Citizens' League in 1896; and Houston, stalwart in the McEnery campaign for governor.

"When the law is powerless, the rights delegated by the people are relegated back to the people," said Parkerson.

He charged that jurymen who had not been intimidated had been bribed, and gave names. Denègre and Wickliffe spoke in the same key.

"Follow me, I will be your leader!" shouted Parkerson. The crowd roared its determination, fell in behind Parkerson, Wickliffe, and Houston, and marched, armed with rifles, shotguns and pistols, to the prison which then occupied the square of Orleans, Tremè, now North Liberty, St. Ann, and Marais streets.

There were six to eight thousand men in that march, according to the report of the Grand Jury three weeks later. New Orleans throbbed to their tread; women on balconies shrilled encouragement.

Captain Lem Davis, in charge of the prison, refused to surrender his charges. The guard had not been reinforced—if it had been, there would have been bloody war; but to the last, he did his sworn duty.

The crowd swung from the main entrance on Orleans street, with its iron bars an inch and a half thick, and beat down the wooden doors of the captain's apartment on the Tremè street side.

It was the intention, when the march began, to execute the law only on the men whom the law had failed to reach; and to do nothing to the accused who had not yet been brought to trial. But

the mob's blood-lust swept aside this plan, and before that dreadful day was over, eleven men had been shot to death or hanged to lampposts. Five of them had not yet been brought to trial.

Their dreadful task performed, the men went home. That was Saturday. For sixteen and a half hours, the press of the *Daily Picayune*—capacity 12,000 eight-page papers an hour—labored to satisfy the demand for the issue of Sunday, March 15. That twenty-page paper contained the thirteen and a half-column report, which began on Page 6, headed "Retribution."

Italy demanded the punishment of the leaders, and an indemnity. The Federal government sent a sharp telegram to Governor Nicholls,¹ but refused to take action against a sovereign state; whereupon, Italy recalled its minister and put itself in warlike posture. An explanation of facts which produced the situation, and the Grand Jury report of May 5, giving the evidence about jury-fixing and stating that the people had no other recourse for establishing the rule of law, strengthened the stand of the Federal government; it, too, showed itself ready for war, and Italy backed down.

Except among interests which had long been hostile to New Orleans and the South, the necessity of the lynching was generally recognized. But here and there, unscrupulous writers stabbed. One of these forged a truculent defiance by Parkerson, quite at variance with his character and attitude on that blood-shot day. These miserable attempts failed of their purpose. Parkerson was chosen to deliver the Fourth of July address that year in Bloomington, Illinois.

New Orleans justice then moved against the jury-suborners, and

¹ Secretary of State James G. Blaine's telegram to Governor Nicholls immediately after the lynching said: "The president deeply regrets that the citizens of New Orleans should have so disparaged the purity and adequacy of their own judicial tribunals as to transfer to the passionate judgment of a mob a question that should have been adjudged dispassionately and by settled rules of law. The government of the United States must give to the subjects of friendly powers that security which it demands for our own citizens temporarily under foreign jurisdiction."

brought home several convictions. Families of the slain men filed suit in the United States Circuit Court for \$30,000 each, but the actions were dismissed.

After Italy had ceased sulking, the United States paid an indemnity of 125,000 francs to the Italian government, for distribution to the families of the slain men. Under the doctrine of dual sovereignty, it did not have to do this, not being responsible for local administrations; but because adequate protection had not been put around the prisoners by city or state, it was willing to do more than was required, to show the sincerity of its belief in the principles of international law.

A monument to Hennessy was unveiled, in Metairie cemetery, May 28, 1892, almost as important a marker in the progress of a people as that other monument at the head of Canal street. For, though an outraged citizenry had not been able to reach beyond the tools to the principals, that mad March day, it had given the Mafia, once so powerful, its death blow.

Nine years later, there was another outburst, when the people took the execution of the law into their own hands.

On July 25, 1900, Robert Charles, a fugitive from Mississippi justice, shot down two policemen attempting to arrest him. Race violence flared, and many Negroes were beaten and several were killed by the mobs that raged through the streets hunting for Charles. Two Negro schools were burned. Acting Mayor William Mehle appointed several hundred deputies to rescue New Orleans from hoodlumism, the Louisiana Field Artillery was put under arms, and the militia was ordered to hold itself in readiness. On July 27 the *Daily Picayune* was able to report that "order reigns"; but there was still occasional violence.

Charles was surrounded July 27 in a two-story house at Clio and Saratoga streets. For hours, his deadly Winchester rifle held the crowd of police officers and armed citizens at bay, several thousand men who poured at least five thousand shots, estimated the *Daily*

Picayune, into the room from which methodically he cut down those who exposed themselves. A man standing beside William M. Steele, reporter of the *Daily Picayune*, was shot down. Fire at length drove Charles out, and he died under furious guns, shot thirty-four times, kicked and stamped upon by insensate feet as he lay, a bloody mass, in the gutter.

Twelve men were killed, four of them policemen, five Negroes; thirty were wounded, whites and Negroes.

Referring to the mob spirit which vented itself on so many innocent Negroes, the *Daily Picayune*, on July 29, 1900, said: "They wanted to kill Negroes, but they wanted to be entirely safe in their pastime, and so they chose as objects of their hostility old men, women and others who were not likely to make any resistance."²

² In August of that same year, there were a bloody race war in New York and a violent race riot in Akron, Ohio.

Lottery

REACHING its climax in the governorship campaign of 1892, one of the bitterest political fights in the history of Louisiana was on the lottery issue.

It was a time-honored institution in that state, the lottery, tracing back, as far as records go, to the Legislative enactment of 1810 which allowed the rector, wardens, and vestry of Christ Episcopal church to conduct a \$10,000 lottery for religious purposes. There were lotteries to build schools, to improve waterway navigation, to erect a Masonic Hall in New Orleans, and for other laudable ends. One of the largest, in that early period, was the drawing of December 1, 1839, in which the capital prize was Banks' Arcade, valued at \$700,000, the second prize was the City hotel, valued at \$500,000, and the other 598 prizes were parcels of real estate and blocks of bank and gas-company stock. Towards mid-century, Louisiana made lotteries illegal, but foreign operators did a huge business in the state, and this led to the legislative enactment in 1868, under the Warmoth Republican administration, giving the Louisiana Lottery Company an exclusive franchise for twenty-five years. The company was endorsed by the Francis Tillou Nicholls Democratic administration in 1877, after extending financial aid which contributed to the final victory over carpetbaggers.¹

¹ Two years later, the *Daily Picayune* made reference to this. In an editorial of February 1, 1879, it thus summarized a statement by State Senator Zacharie, a member of

For this franchise, John A. Morris and his associates agreed to pay the state \$40,000 a year, for the Charity Hospital fund.

Beginning at \$3750, the monthly and semiannual capital prizes were steadily increased to \$600,000, tickets \$40 each. There were also daily policy drawings, in which one could win as much as \$1200 on a 25-cent ticket. These latter sucked in most of New Orleans' loose change, making their special appeal to servants and those of the poorer classes. There were more than a hundred policy shops in the city, and some idea of the extent of their business may be gained from the fact that locations—space enough only for a table and chair—sold for as high as \$5000. Supervised by Generals P. G. T. Beauregard and Jubal A. Early, who were idols of the Confederacy, now on the lottery payroll at \$30,000 a year each, the drawings were conducted with unimpeachable fairness, at first in the theaters, later in the lottery building, at St. Charles and Union streets where the United Fruit Company building now stands. Lottery stock rose from \$100 par to \$1200, and none offered. The annual take of the monthly and semiannual drawings reached a total of \$28,000,000; of the daily, \$20,000,000.

The Nicholls Legislature rescinded the charter in 1879, but the United States Circuit Court, in its decision of May 26, invalidated

the Democratic Committee of Safety in 1877: "A representation or offer was made to the committee that if the Legislature would pledge itself not to repeal the charter of Louisiana Lottery Company, the company might render material service in establishing the Nicholls government. The time was one of peril to that government, and it was not considered advisable to array in hostility against it any of the rich corporations which existed in New Orleans, at that time, but rather to obtain the influence of all in support of the Nicholls government, if possible.

"Mr. Zacharie said there was a tacit understanding to this effect with the Louisiana Lottery Company, but no pledge was entered into, that he was aware of, for this purpose. That was a proper policy, Mr. Zacharie thought, at that time, and the bill calling for the repeal of the lottery company in 1877 was not passed, for this reason. When the question of repeal again came up, in 1878, it was represented by the lottery company that the agreement was supposed to extend to both sessions of the Legislature, and to place the question beyond a doubt of unfair dealing on the part of that body, it was agreed that the charter of the company should not be disturbed by that session."

The *Daily Picayune* admitted that it was openly asserted the lottery company put heavy financing behind the Nicholls movement. In what other form could "material service" show itself?

the Act. That same year, a new Constitution was drawn up, and it confirmed the charter, and at the same time wrote in this remarkable clause: "Gambling is a vice, and the Legislature shall enact laws for its suppression."

For a long time, there had been a large opposition to the lottery. The *Daily Picayune* described its evil influence on the community, October 17, 1871, and repeatedly returned to the charge. "Disreputable" was one of the adjectives it used on September 6, 1872. Part of the opposition stemmed from persons opposed to gambling, part from racketeers who capitalized their nuisance value.

Nicholls returned to the governorship in 1888. Though the lottery company had contributed to his campaign fund, he was known to be its enemy.

When the Legislature convened in 1890, the *Daily Picayune* predicted, May 13, that the rechartering of the company, whose franchise was to expire January 1, 1894, "will be a burning issue." Floods had wrought desperate havoc. When Morris offered \$500,000 a year for a 25-year franchise, the *Daily Picayune* supported him, because of the public need, but said the privilege was worth more. "To-day, when miles of Louisiana levees have been carried away and many square miles of the richest plantations with the dwellings of the people are inundated by a terrible flood, the proposition presents an attractive front," it said in that same editorial. "To-day, when the state of Louisiana, in the attitude of a beggar, crippled and needy, stands soliciting bread from the federal government to feed her hungry people, and is accepting alms from whomsoever will give, and is beseeching Congress to build her embankments and protect her fair lands from a devastating river, the proposal of Mr. Morris will necessarily commend consideration."

To a denouncement of the lottery company, Governor Nicholls devoted a third of his message. The Anti-Lottery League was launched by Colonel W. G. Vincent, a veteran of the Mexican War and the War Between the States; rallies of increasing size and fury demanded the suppression of the institution as a debaucher of

politics and a debaser of the people; the Louisiana Farmers' Alliance, part of the Populist movement which hard times projected upon the national scene, joined the attack. Morris, by large gifts to civic needs, sought to buy public opinion. Typical was his \$50,000 donation for public baths at the head of Felicite street. He offered to lend the state \$2,000,000, without interest, and doubled his franchise bid, to be distributed as follows: public schools, \$350,000; levees, \$350,000; charities, \$150,000; pensions for Confederate soldiers, \$50,000; drainage in New Orleans, \$100,000. By heavy gifts to public men, he bought political influence.

The lottery measure passed July 1, 1890, a Constitutional amendment on which the people were to vote in 1892. Governor Nicholls sent in a scorching veto, but with more than a two-thirds majority, the lottery forces pushed the measure through. Morris had increased his offer by \$250,000, to be paid into the general fund of the state.

On the urging of the Anti-Lottery League, Congress passed a law forbidding the mails to lottery companies, and President Harrison approved it September 19, 1890. The company appealed to the courts, and, pending the favorable decision it expected, used the express companies for the distribution of tickets, lists, and other printed matter, and the newspapers issued two editions, one for local distribution with lottery advertisements and lists, one for the mails, purged of such matter.

The governorship campaign was pitched on the lottery issue. Samuel Douglas McEnery headed the pro ticket, Murphy J. Foster the anti. In party strife, the candidates were chosen; in increasing bitterness, the race was run. Parades raged through the cities, meetings gave the towns such a stirring-up as they had not known since the days of war and riot. The one bright moment in the campaign was when an active leader on the antilottery side won \$75,000 in a monthly drawing. The lottery company plastered the press with propaganda.

Feeling was at its height when the United States Supreme Court,

on February 1, 1892, upheld the constitutionality of the law outlawing the lottery. Three days later, Morris withdrew his proposal; even if the amendment were adopted, he said, he would not accept the charter. The original small group of the Anti-Lottery League had won the fight while the politicians of the state were tearing apart the foundations of the Democratic party.

The primary was held March 22. Meeting in New Orleans next day, the Returning Board was charged with fraud by both sides. Two of the principal cases involved throwing out a block of McEnery votes in the Sixth Ward of New Orleans, and throwing in a block of Foster votes in Sabine parish. Even the pine trees in Sabine voted, it was said. In reply to a request for the vote total in Shreveport, Foster leaders wired back, "How many do you need?" On April 5, the Returning Board announced, by a four-to-three vote, the result: Foster 43,602; McEnery 43,053. The McEnery minority said the result was McEnery 45,557; Foster 43,987. In the general election, April 19, Foster swamped McEnery.

The Louisiana Lottery Company ended its existence when its charter expired in 1893. Associates of Morris organized the Honduras Lottery, with headquarters in Puerto Cortéz, and distributed tickets and literature by express in the United States until the government dammed that channel in 1903, and by messenger as personal luggage after that, until Federal prosecution gave the company its quietus in 1907.

When the legal lottery left New Orleans, the illegal took its place. Ticket-vending was going on as usual, and at the same old stands, chronicled the *Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1894. "Do the people of New Orleans mean to encourage or to submit to the encroachments of lawless lotteries as they encourage or submit to the violation of the Sunday and anti-gambling law?" it asked.

Apparently they did—and do; for New Orleans is still infested with lotteries—nickel and dime gambles; and foreign sweepstake schemes lure millions of dollars a year from American pockets throughout the country—or did until World War II interrupted the traffic.

Cuba Libre

THE BATTLESHIP "Maine" was blown up, with a loss of 266 men, in Havana harbor February 15, 1898. Horror and resentment tornadoed through the United States, for the circumstances surrounding the tragedy pointed to Spanish guilt. In New Orleans—then in the Carnival season—the feelings were especially poignant, for the "Maine" had visited the port during the previous Mardi Gras, its men and officers counted many friends there, and a New Orleans man, Midshipman (later Rear Admiral) Wat Tyler Cluverius, was on the ship. "War!" demanded Americans. "Suspend judgment, until you know," urged the *Daily Picayune*.

One of Spain's possessions, Cuba, had for nearly a century been struggling for independence. Its longest revolt, beginning in 1868, lasted ten years. In 1883 it tried again. Every time, rebellion had been bloodily suppressed, and the chains of oppression had been made heavier. American sympathy had always been in favor of the Cubans—especially in New Orleans, where many expeditions had been outfitted and from which much assistance had gone. In 1869 President Grant had urged Spain to give the Cubans their independence. When Calixto García, Máximo Gómez, and the Macéos brothers began their revolution on February 20, 1895, American sympathies were, if anything, stronger than they had ever been, the cumulation of resentment at Spanish methods—Americans

killed, with the suspected connivance of Spanish authorities, newspaper correspondents and travelers imprisoned or insulted by Spanish insolence. Now, as General Valeriano Weyler, heading an army of 200,000, pushed his policy of extermination against Cuba's 65,000 poorly armed men, American investments totaling \$50,000,000 were being systematically destroyed, and American trade with Cuba, worth \$100,000,000 in 1894, was being blacked-out. The horrors of the reconcentrado camps shocked the civilized world. "Cuba libre" became a national chant.

To all representations by the United States, Spain replied with studied insult, which reached a new high when the Spanish minister near the Washington government, in January, 1898, branded President William McKinley as a "cheap politician who truckles to the masses." The "Maine" was sent to Havana ostensibly on a friendly visit, but really to show Spain that this time the United States was serious. To everyone, its destruction seemed a new defiance, pushed to criminal limits. "Remember the 'Maine'!" became the national war cry.

With increasing space and growing headlines, the *Daily Picayune* reported the rushing developments—\$50,000,000 voted by Congress for the national defense, a navy recruiting office opened in New Orleans, the strengthening of the forts below the city, the finding by the Court of Inquiry "that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine," the breakdown of negotiations by which Spain might have cleared itself of the crime, and the declaration of war April 25 "in the cause of humanity," as President McKinley said, "and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing" in Cuba.

The *Daily Picayune* put on the New York *Herald's* excellent war service, and amplified this with special correspondents with the Louisiana units when they left. Its own staff man, John S. Kendall, accompanied the Second Louisiana Regiment.

The President called for 125,000 volunteers in April, and in May for 75,000 more.

On April 25 the Secretary of War wired Governor Murphy J. Foster that the Louisiana quota was two regiments of infantry. That same day, General W. R. Shafter reached New Orleans to take charge of the troop movement through this city. Louisiana's response was immediate, electrical.

Camp Foster was opened at the Fairgrounds, Camp Caffery at Covington, and the facilities at Jackson Barracks were expanded. Volunteers offered themselves in such a steady stream that recruiting sergeants got writer's cramp. "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town To-Night" became the battle song.

Louisiana sent 4615 men and officers to the colors. One of the regiments, the Second Louisiana, known as the Tigers, had the conspicuous honor of leading the American column of 11,000 men through the flower-strewn streets of Havana on January 1, 1899, and held the right of the line at the lowering of the Spanish flag and the raising of the American over Morro Castle that same day.

With copious illustrations and streamer headlines and multiplied banks, the *Daily Picayune* presented the sensational chapters in that short, one-sided war—Rear Admiral William T. Sampson silencing the batteries at Matanzas, April 27 in eighteen minutes; Commodore William Dewey brushing aside the interference of a German squadron like an inconsequential fly and destroying or disabling the Spanish fleet of eleven ships in Manila harbor May 1; the gallant exploit of Richmond Pearson Hobson and six volunteers in sailing the collier "Merrimac" into the bottleneck of Santiago, June 3 and sinking it with torpedoes to cork in Cervera's fleet;¹ the landing of the army for the assault on Santiago, June 20; the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Sampson and Commodore W. S. Schley, July 1-3; the capture of Santiago, July 17, after hot and desperate fighting in which Lieutenant Colonel Teddy Roosevelt,

¹ The old expression, "Hobson's Choice," meaning "no alternative," was revived, and by many was attributed to the exploit of the "Merrimac." It traces to the inn-keeper at Cambridge, England, who, with a stable of forty horses, required that guests seeking mounts take the one nearest the door. His name was Tobias Hobson. "The Spectator" and John Milton wrote about him.

already famous for his teeth, and his Rough Riders hung up a new military tradition at San Juan hill; the capture of Porto Rico, July 25; Spain suing, that same month, for peace after a hundred and thirteen days of war; the signing of the treaty of peace in Paris, December 10, 1898.

The *Daily Picayune* stated, August 12, that the war had cost the United States \$840,700 a day. The cost was a great deal more than that figure indicated—\$1,168,000,000 through 1938, counting pensions and interest. The American casualties were 295 killed, 1533 wounded, 5000 dead of disease.

The 152 deaths among the Louisiana troops were due to disease and accident, for none of these units saw action. The war ended before they could be sent to the front.

The Louisiana outfits were:

First Louisiana Regiment, composed of country militia companies and a few New Orleans men; Colonel William L. Stevens, Lieutenant Colonel Ruffin G. Pleasant, afterwards governor; 46 officers and 977 men mustered in, Camp Foster, May 18, 1898; mustered out, Jacksonville, Florida, October 3; 17 deaths.

Second Louisiana Regiment, composed of city militia companies; Colonel Elmer E. Wood, Lieutenant Colonel William C. Dufour; 46 officers and 960 men mustered in, Camp Foster, May 11; sailed for Havana, December 27; mustered out, Savannah, April 18, 1899; 17 deaths.

Louisiana Volunteer Artillery, composed of the Louisiana Field Artillery, Captain John P. Sullivan; Washington Artillery, Captain F. W. Kornbeck; and the Donaldsonville Cannoneers, Captain R. W. McCulloch; 9 officers and 318 men mustered in, Jackson Barracks, July 6; mustered out, same place, November 12; 1 death.

First Naval Brigade, Lieutenant Commander J. W. Bostwick; 19 officers and 215 men; fifteen details left for stations at Port Eads, Louisiana, Fort Morgan, Alabama, and Galveston, Texas, April 23, and were therefore the first Louisiana men to go into war service;

on May 9, 104 men and officers left to join the monitor "Passaic" at Port Royal; no deaths.

Second United States Volunteer Infantry, Hood's Immunes, composed of Louisiana men; Colonel Duncan N. Hood, Lieutenant Colonel Hayden Y. Grubbs; 45 officers and 950 men mustered in, Camp Caffery, June 15; reached Santiago, August 5; mustered out, Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, June 22, 1899; 40 deaths.

Ninth United States Volunteer Infantry, Crane's Immunes, composed of Louisiana Negroes; Colonel C. J. Crane, Lieutenant Colonel Davis M. Sells; 46 officers and 984 men mustered in, Camp Foster, June 18; reached Santiago, August 22; mustered out, Camp Meade, May 25, 1899; 77 deaths.

By the treaty of peace, Spain surrendered Cuba, Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, for which last-named the United States paid \$20,000,000. Hawaii came into the United States by treaty with that republic and joint declaration by Congress in 1898.

In 1899 the United States received Pago Pago and several islands of the Samoan group; Great Britain and Germany divided the rest of them.

To Cuba, the United States gave its independence. To Hawaii and Porto Rico, it gave full citizenship. To the Philippines, it promised self-government and ultimate liberty as soon as the people were ready to assume those responsibilities. But first it was necessary to subdue the Philippines in a guerilla war which lasted from February 4, 1899, to March 23, 1901, when the leader Aguinaldo was captured. Since then, the United States has advanced steadily in making good the promise to the islands.

After the Spanish war, newspapers were filled with embalmed-beef and other scandals incident to profiteering on army contracts; reports of foul hospital conditions under which the men suffered, such as in Camp Pesthole, as the First and Second Louisiana Regiments called one of their Florida posts; exposures of the lack of army organization because of politics; and with bickerings be-

tween Secretary of War Russell Alexander Alger and the military and naval leaders, Nelson A. Miles, Shafter, Sampson, and Schley.

The United States went into the war in the name of humanity, to free an oppressed people. It emerged a world power, with an international outlook, and new policies which gave it a mighty fleet, a strong military outpost on Hawaii, and a stake in the Far East; and it would soon find the digging of the Panama canal essential to its expansion and its security. The conquering of yellow fever by the American army of occupation in Cuba was a great contribution to civilization, and would open new opportunities for New Orleans.

The war, moreover, closed the breach between the North and the South. General Shafter of Michigan, former Federal officer in the War Between the States, fighting side by side with General Joe Wheeler of Alabama, dashing Confederate cavalry leader in that same conflict, symbolized the new fraternity. It was only a generation since Appomattox, less than a quarter of a century since the Battle of September 14—but Louisiana's patriotism was in keeping with the best American traditions. No city in the Union has a prouder right than New Orleans to such a monument as the heroic bronze, typifying the Spirit of Ninety-eight, which was unveiled at Canal street and Claiborne avenue on Memorial Day, 1939.

Growth

NEW ORLEANS increased its population, in the last decade of the old century, by 45,065 to 287,104; Louisiana by 263,037 to 1,381,625—in round figures, 18 and 23 per cent, respectively, as compared with the 20 per cent growth of the United States to 75,994,575. The city's foreign trade advanced from \$14,658,163 imports and \$108,126,891 exports in 1890 to \$17,490,811 imports and \$115,858,764 exports in 1900.

That was sufficiently encouraging, everything considered. But in nearly every physical respect, New Orleans was far behind the rest of the country, and in the rushing development of the twentieth century, disadvantages would weigh more heavily than under entirely different economic conditions in the nineteenth. The *Daily Picayune's* announcement on Christmas morning, 1903, that the hundred horsepower electric motor, recently installed to move its two Hoe presses, was the largest machinery of the kind in the city, "sizes up" New Orleans, at the turn of the century. Though modern equipment had come in, the old hydraulic elevator still flourished.

Still in the future was the conquest of yellow fever, the sanitation which raised the average term of life to the level of other cities, the flood-proofing which opened a new economic era to the entire lower-river country, the wharves that would not be swept away with each high water, and transportation facilities to give them

adequate service, the paving of hundreds of miles of streets and the laying of thousands of miles of highway into the rich hinterland. Still in the future, too, were the development of manufacturing enterprise, and the creation of a new spirit—not the stubborn hope that had carried the indestructible city across obstacles and through calamities such as no other city in the country has faced and survived, but the confidence able to achieve the ultimate possibilities of such an important location, the natural point of interchange between the Mississippi Valley and the markets of the world, Latin America especially. Louisiana would advance in the same tempo as New Orleans.

In the first two decades were begun the developments which made the new city and the new state as different from the old, as American progress had been from the Creole establishment still ruled by the Colonial spirit, a century before.

Read the census milestones. By 1910, when the United States showed a growth of 15,977,691 to 91,972,266, Louisiana increased 274,763 to 1,656,388, and New Orleans 51,971 to 339,075; by 1920, the United States added 13,738,354 and had 105,710,620; Louisiana 142,121, making 1,798,509; and New Orleans 48,144, giving it a population of 387,219. With the addition of Utah in 1896, Oklahoma in 1907, New Mexico and Arizona in 1912, the tally of forty-eight states was complete. Louisiana added five parishes, bringing the total to sixty-four—LaSalle in 1908 with a population of 9402, by the census of 1910; Evangeline in 1910, Allen, Beauregard, and Jefferson Davis in 1912, with populations, respectively, of 23,485, 18,382, 20,767 and 18,999, by the census of 1920. While the United States grew 40 per cent, Louisiana grew 30 per cent and New Orleans 36 per cent.

Even more impressive was the business increase. New Orleans' imports by 1910 had grown to \$55,712,027, and its exports to \$140,376,560; by 1914, when the outbreak of the Great War caused such a large economic dislocation, they had grown, respectively, to \$89,382,261 and \$193,839,961; by 1920, to \$274,073,005 and \$712,-

380,439. The figures for that year show war and postwar inflation, but New Orleans had become the nation's second port. The city's assessments grew from \$139,235,101 in 1900 to \$485,482,713 in 1920.

Queen Victoria died, Carrie Nation smote the saloons with her hatchet, Spindletop gushed, and Marconi gave the world wireless in 1901. That same year—September 9—President William McKinley was shot by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz while in Buffalo, New York. His death September 14 was especially poignant to New Orleans, for on May 1 and 2 he had visited that city; his reception by the Louisiana Historical Society, with Governor William Wright Heard, Mayor Paul Capdevielle, and high state and city officials taking part, and his address from the Cabildo balcony, were a rubric in the city's history, for he was the first President to visit New Orleans while in office.

Other Presidents were to go there, during this period of swift, even sensational, advance—Theodore Roosevelt, October 27, 1905; William Howard Taft, October 30, 1909; Warren G. Harding, November 18, 1920; Franklin Delano Roosevelt, April 29, 1937. In the fall of 1907, Teddy Roosevelt hunted bear in Catahoula and Madison parishes;¹ and in 1913, when revolutionary conditions in Mexico were becoming so critical to the United States, Woodrow Wilson spent a rest period that began on Christmas Day and ended January 11, 1914, at Pass Christian, Mississippi, where many Orleanians have summer homes. But there is no thrill like the first—and the arrival of the \$850,000 dry dock for the Algiers Naval Station that same year—1901—gave tangible reality to the hope for a greater future.

On December 17, 1903, the Wright brothers launched their airplane from Kill Devil Hill, on the North Carolina seacoast four

¹ Theodore Roosevelt's visit of 1905 was at the end of the last yellow fever epidemic. The *Daily Picayune's* headline of October 27, "Hundreds of Thousands of People Participate in a Rare Reception on Land and Water" may have exaggerated the crowd, but it did not overstate the enthusiasm. During the famous hunt, the *Daily Picayune* proclaimed in a headline, October 10, 1907, "President Roosevelt is chasing a bear. The amount of shooting being done sounded like Grant's army approaching Vicksburg." He killed a deer.

miles from Kitty Hawk; remaining aloft for 59 seconds, it achieved 852 feet. Two days later, the *Daily Picayune* chronicled man's conquest of the air in a six-inch story on Page 15, far down.

By then, *Anthonomus grandis*—boll weevil in the vulgate—which had jumped from Mexico to Texas in 1892, was beginning to overrun the cotton belt of the South, and would destroy more than six million bales of that section's great staple in a single year, until a control was found. It is still a threat, held in check by the improved farming practice memorialized in the monument to the boll weevil which the citizens of Enterprise, Alabama, unveiled December 11, 1919.

In 1904 the United States began the \$375,000,000 Panama canal, which it completed ten years later: commercial use began August 15, 1914. In 1904, too, Japan went to war with Russia, and emerged from it, in the peace of September 5, 1905, a new factor in world relations.

More than six hundred persons perished in the Iroquois theater flames of December 30, 1903—Chicago's most appalling disaster since the great fire of 1871. Earthquake and fire laid San Francisco low April 18–19, 1906, killing five hundred and destroying \$350,000,000 worth of property. In 1908 financial panic gripped the nation.

The Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of Standard Oil, May 15, 1911, and of the American Tobacco Company, May 29. The "Titanic" crashed into an iceberg and sank April 14–15, 1912, with a loss of 1517 lives. Theodore Roosevelt Bull-Moosed Taft out of the White House that same year, and through the divided hosts of the Republicans, the Democrats swept Woodrow Wilson into the presidency. American marines landed at Vera Cruz, Mexico, April 21, 1914, and counted their dead. For a time, it looked as though the United States must again invade a land whose people were betrayed by evil and selfish leadership. But on June 28 a Serb student named Gavrillo Princip assassinated the Archduke Francis of Austria and his wife at Sarajevo, Bosnia, and the great na-

tions began massing their strength for war on an unparalleled scale, so soon to begin. The United States joined the carnage April 6, 1917. For the presidential campaign of 1916, Roosevelt was chosen to head the Progressive ticket, with John M. Parker of Louisiana as his running mate, but decided not to make the race—vainly hoping that his support of the Republican, Charles Evans Hughes, would defeat Wilson. Next year, this country's most famous Red Light district became a brazen memory, cherished by writers of the "realist" school. Closed October 10, 1917, as a war measure, New Orleans' Storyville became the abode of unwilling Negro and Puerto Rican laboring families. The gaudy temples to sin went into decay; only a few have resisted parking-lot and business expansion, dreadful hags awaiting final dissolution. The armistice of November 11, 1918, stopped Europe's crevasse of blood, and the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, brought as durable a peace as any war has yielded. On January 10, 1920, the League of Nations began to build its house of cards.

This country's noble experiment, prohibition, began on January 17, 1920, and on August 26, the amendment giving women the vote went into effect.²

Ping-pong possessed the land, in 1902. Simplified spelling created a mild furore—"Pidgin English," in the *Daily Picayune's* comment of November 18, 1906. "The Merry Widow" introduced new beauty to the waltz, and a breadth to women's hats that protected innocent bystanders from the casual thrusts of hat pins. When smaller styles came in, some states passed laws limiting the length of steel that might be exposed. By 1910, the water hyacinth (*Piaropus crassipes*) which had been introduced to this country, as a tropical curiosity, at the New Orleans Cotton Centennial Ex-

² The *Daily Picayune* was still opposing woman suffrage early in the century—for example, editorial, March 7, 1902; but long before the Nineteenth Amendment went into effect, August 26, 1920, it realized the movement must prevail. On March 8, 1913, its editorial said: ". . . the women's movement has grown up until it is becoming an active element in the general political, social, industrial and financial revolution that is looming up in the world's horizon. Already, our American women have won the electoral franchise in several states of the Union, and they will gain it in others."

position in 1884, had become such a pest that Congressman Bob Broussard proposed the introduction of hippopotami to keep the bayous open to navigation, but did not follow through, and so we do not know whether they could have done the job.³ Jack Johnson, Negro, won the world's heavyweight boxing championship from Jim Jeffries on July 4 of that year, and hardly had died the cheers of the seventeen thousand fans who endured the pelting sun of Reno, when the roar of race riot swelled in other parts of the country. "It is strange that so brutal a spectacle as a fist fight between two brawny men," said the *Daily Picayune's* editorial, "should, in this twentieth century of boasted civilization and enlightenment, be a subject of greater popular interest than almost anything could."

Society's sanction of the bloomer, as bicycling introduced women to athletics, inspired styles to a new daring. Skirts rose to ankle-height; they continued to rise, and the new revealments made cotton stockings obsolete. By 1908 the sheath gown eliminated the rustling petticoat; four years later, the hobble skirt, sometimes known as the banana peel, forced streetcar companies to re-design car steps that were more than fifteen inches above the ground. Cutting a slit in the skirt to knee height made walking easier and observation more entrancing. A New York judge rebuked a young woman in open court for indecent exposure. That was before the arrival of the X-ray skirt, which caused so many town councils to seek a law that would restrict women to the shady side of the

³ In a letter to this writer November 15, 1940, James Nelson Gowanloch, chief biologist of the Department of Conservation of Louisiana, said the water hyacinth is a Japanese species that was introduced into South America, and brought to the Cotton Centennial, in New Orleans, in 1884, from Venezuela as part of the Japanese exhibit. Plants were given away as souvenirs, and were spread over the state, and also in Florida. Now Texas is threatened by returning tourists. Many means of control were tried. A spray of arsenic and soda killed the plant, but it also killed cattle which fed on the hyacinth. This method was abandoned in 1937. In 1940, New Orleans District No. 1, army engineers, announced that its fleet of dredging and masticating equipment solved the problem of keeping some two thousand miles of waterway, including the intra-coastal canal, open for navigation. From 1898 to that year the government was reported to have spent \$1,192,991 on this work. *Times-Picayune*, October 1, 1940.

street. Atlantic City still forbade its beach to women bathers who appeared without stockings, but would not be able to stand against the assaults of innovation much longer. Even then, most of the allurements was departed from the tights of the chorus.

Music stepped up its tempo. The prancing cake-walk gave way to the rowdy rag, and New Orleans' tenderloin contributed the rhythm known as jazz. The waltz became the hesitation, and went out. The insinuating one-step found an intimacy of contact which the romping two-step had missed; and it, too, became obsolete by the time that first decade was sped—the tango, the turkey trot, and the grizzly bear prepared the way for still franker excitement even while they were being denounced as immodest and indecent, as had been the old waltz.

By 1914 women were smoking openly, and states which had banned cigarettes and employers who had fired cigarette-smoking clerks, revised their evaluations. The war years brought bobbed hair for women, and there was another outcry by scandalized oldsters. They also brought knee-length skirts, with only a rudimentary sheathing beneath. Beach raiment showed a steady retreat, and in time would become the vestigial remnant it now is.

Louisiana, a few months after Spindletop, brought in oil—at Sulphur City. Twenty-three known gas wells in Terrebonne parish suddenly became significant; the spirit of wildcatting possessed the state. A pumper near Lafayette, a blowout at Welsh, production at Jennings, gushers at Crowley and Anse La Butte—more and more exciting became the news. The *Daily Picayune* was heavy with oil promotions. Most of the frenzied promises failed of realization, but on January 17, 1907, the *Daily Picayune* reported a production, in Louisiana, of 8,910,416 barrels of oil in 1905, and 7,176,338 in 1906. Steadily the state marked out new frontiers of mineral wealth; and, by 1908, New Orleans was agitating for a pipe line to bring in natural gas from the Caddo fields.

In 1903 Louisiana began a broad campaign against the boll weevil, and that same year began to strike for highway develop-

ment. Bicycles had emphasized the need for better streets and roads, automobiles would force action. Only six hundred and seventy automobiles had been manufactured from 1895, when the industry was born, to 1899; and as late as 1905, the *Daily Picayune* considered the automotive vehicle a "toy" and a "fad," but changed its mind in 1910, when figures showed 350,000 "horseless carriages" in the United States, and production indications of 200,000 that year. Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, and Alabama sent delegates to the Southern Good Roads Convention in New Orleans, April 6, 1903. Plans and funds were lacking, and for years the agitators could not do much more than talk about the "overpowering importance of good wagon roads throughout the country," in the *Daily Picayune's* phrase; though here and there, some enthusiast demonstrated, at his own expense, on a short community stretch, what grading and drainage could accomplish. In 1909 the New Orleans-Baton Rouge Good Roads Association was organized, at the instance of Governor Jared Y. Sanders, to raise funds for the purchase of equipment to be used in road work by convicts.

To dramatize the need, the *Daily Picayune* in 1911 promoted the state's first motorcade, as we would call it now—the word had not yet been invented. It gave all of Page 1 to the departure of the sixteen cars on August 12, for Memphis, 590 miles away, and in rivers of type, reported the rainy and muddy progress through Baton Rouge, Kentwood, Magnolia, Brookhaven, Jackson, Canton, Clarksdale, Tunica, and arrival at destination on the afternoon of August 18 in a drenching storm. It was an exciting trip and a notable achievement. Trail breaker of that expedition was a young man in the circulation department, Leonard K. Nicholson, who, following the example of his mother, was learning the newspaper business from the bottom up. With *delenda est Carthago* reiteration, the *Daily Picayune* campaigned for highway development.

In February, 1912, New Orleans staged the state's first automo-

bile show. It was in the old Washington Artillery Hall, 739 St. Charles street. This helped the movement, and also the cause of street paving.

Streetcar-men of New Orleans in 1901 won a strike for 18 cents an hour and a 10-hour day. Stirred to unrest by the Pennsylvania coal strike the next year—five months of boiling violence which involved 145,000 miners—they struck, in the fall of 1902, for 25 cents an hour and an 8-hour day. From September 28 to October 13, there was a complete tie-up, and the streets became slow torrents of buggies, wagons, and drays which carried the people to and from work. When strikebreakers tried to move cars, bloody battle raged. The city was terrorized by its 2,000 carmen. To the “dastardly conduct of the police,” the *Daily Picayune* bore testimony on October 8. Governor William W. Heard ordered out the militia, and when a thousand men were under arms, negotiations were begun again, and the strike ended with a 2-cent wage increase, but no change in the working day.

New Orleans celebrated the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase in 1903, and the centennial of the state’s admission into the family of states in 1912. From the million square miles of wilderness that Napoleon had sold to this country for \$15,000,000, had been carved a dozen states and two territories; the population had grown from 50,000 to 15,000,000.

Six warships were in port for the Purchase celebration—four American, one French, and one Spanish. France was officially represented by Ambassador J. J. Jusserand; Spain, by Consul J. Tuero y O’Donnell; the United States, by Governor Heard. Both he and Mayor Paul Capdevielle issued proclamations calling for the three-day observance from Friday, December 18 through Sunday, December 20, 1903.

Throughout the state the anniversary was celebrated. In New Orleans, the program was organized by the Louisiana Historical Society. It included a naval pageant, a military review, a ball at the French Opera House in the spirit of a hundred years before, and a

re-enactment of the cession ceremonies, with descendants of some of the men in that great drama taking part. This was held on the last day, the anniversary of the historic event, and on the same stage, the Cabildo. After a Grand Pontifical Mass in the St. Louis Cathedral—Archbishop P. L. Chapelle and an imposing array of clergy officiating, and a choir of seventy-five voices from the French Opera Company singing the *Te Deum*—the distinguished company entered the Cabildo, where Alcée Fortier, president of the Louisiana Historical Society, historian of Louisiana and professor in Tulane University, enacted the role of the French commissioner, Pierre Clément Laussat; Charles T. Soniat du Fossat that of his secretary, Daugerot; Charles F. Claiborne that of his grandfather, Commissioner William Charles Cole Claiborne, later governor of Louisiana; Theodore Wilkinson that of his great-grand-sire, General James Wilkinson, the other commissioner appointed to receive the territory; and James S. Zacharie, member of the City Council, that of Secretary Wadsworth. The documents that were read in 1803 were re-read in 1903. Then, to the twenty-one-gun salutes of the Washington Artillery and of the warships, the American flag was raised in Jackson Square, and the thousands massed there shouted, as that earlier crowd had done.

For the statehood-centennial observance, April 30, 1912, two American battleships were in port, and Secretary of State Philander C. Knox represented President Taft. He delivered an address, as did Professor Fortier and Governor Earl Brewer of Mississippi; Governor Sanders presided. Miss Clarisse Claiborne, great-granddaughter of Governor Claiborne, raised the flag in the square. The Louisiana State Museum was officially opened. It had been created by Legislative Act in 1906, its nucleus the exhibits sent to the World's Fair of 1904 in St. Louis.

It was New Orleans' hope to celebrate the opening of the Panama canal with an exposition; for years, it built public opinion towards that goal; but Congress supported San Francisco's claims. Though denied national endorsement, the city decided to hold an

exposition anyway. The Association of Commerce, which on May 4, 1913, succeeded the Progressive Union, focused the determination of the business community upon this effort, and the *Daily Picayune* threw its enthusiastic support behind the project. Under the guidance of Herbert Kaufman, the campaign for subscriptions began January 9, 1914, seven months before traffic began to move through the canal on August 15; but the outbreak of the war, which subsequent years called World War I, killed the Exposition of Big Ideas.

Aviation came to New Orleans during the Carnival season of 1910, the year after Louis Bleriot flew across the English Channel, thirty-one miles in thirty-seven minutes, while a string of ships waited to rescue him if he fell into the sea. Before a crowd which the *Daily Picayune* estimated at 25,000, Louis Paulham took off from the City Park race track on February 6. An eight-man "circus" later that year—December 24, 1910, to January 2, 1911—delighted New Orleans with daring flights, and amazed it with a speed of a mile in fifty-seven seconds, an altitude record of 7125 feet. John B. Moisant, the pilot who had proved that a ship could ascend in a thirty-mile wind, was killed December 31. On April 10, 1912, George Mestach carried mail by plane from New Orleans to Baton Rouge in an hour and thirty-two seconds, the second official airmail flight in the United States.

In 1905 the Federal government dedicated its \$1,157,000 post office where St. Patrick's Hall had stood. Driven from its home, the Fisk library found refuge in the old Twiggs mansion, 1115 Prytania street, until, in 1908, it moved into its new building opposite Lee Circle, on the site once occupied by car barns of the New Orleans and Carrollton steam railway, later glorified by Gentry's Dog and Pony Show. Andrew Carnegie's gift of \$350,000, and a new enthusiasm in literary culture—given tangible expression by city appropriations—made possible the \$275,000 structure.⁴ That

⁴ The Fisk's 70,000 volumes of that period have grown to 267,428 books and 88,090 uncatalogued items in the New Orleans Public Library, as the new institution was

same year, New Orleans built the City Hall Annex, on Carondelet street, a \$278,000 expansion to the facilities of city government; and began the \$575,000 palace to Civil Justice on Royal street, a marble and terra cotta pile out of harmony with the architecture of the Vieux Carré. Its monument to Jefferson Davis, at Canal street and Jefferson Davis boulevard, New Orleans unveiled February 22, 1912.

The city lost, in 1909, the mint, which had functioned from 1838 to the War Between the States, and from 1879 to April of the year indicated. But it stopped, at least for a time, a government move to close the Algiers Naval Station. On October 30 of that year, President Taft, accompanied by twenty-four governors, a hundred and seventeen congressmen and senators, including Uncle Joe Cannon, speaker of the House, and three diplomats, traveled down the Mississippi river by steamboat to launch the waterways-improvement demand in New Orleans. Large developments were to result from this. Incidentally, the President went to two football games—Sewanee vs. Louisiana State University, Tulane vs. University of Mississippi—a banquet in the Pickwick Club, and the French opera, *La Juive*. Three years later—on April 10, 1912—while floods were sweeping down the Mississippi Valley, the National Drainage Council, opening, in New Orleans, its second meeting, threw national responsibility for river control into greater emphasis than it had ever known.

New Orleans adopted the commission-council form of government December 2, 1912. It was the first city with a population of more than 300,000 to do so. Under the old system, there were seventeen ward and four at-large representatives, the legislative department; and a mayor who, with the comptroller, treasurer, commissioner of public works, commissioner of public buildings, and city engineer, was the executive department. The commission-council

named, as of 1940. There are seven branches. Expenses in 1939 were \$93,209.67; income was: miscellaneous \$13,106.29, from the city, \$80,000.16. Statement November 22, 1940, by Librarian John Hall Jacobs to this writer.

government brings legislative and executive departments into one focus. The mayor and four commissioners are elected for four years. The mayor is charged with the general supervision of all departments, boards, and commissions, and is in charge of the department of public affairs, which embraces matters connected with the law, civil service, and publicity. The commissioners are elected, at the first council meeting, to the other departments. These are: Department of Public Finance, which has charge of assessments, receipts, and disbursements; Department of Public Safety—fire prevention, police, health, charities, and relief; Department of Public Utilities—public service corporations and franchises; Department of Public Property—streets, buildings, and all city property except the Public Belt railroad, which is operated by its own commission. The commission-council government was a return to the basic principle of the charter of 1870, in carpetbag days; and for this reason, the *Daily Picayune* at first opposed the change,⁵ but when it saw the effective possibilities, it withdrew from that position.

Louisiana, on November 22, 1913, adopted a new Constitution, the principal features of which were funding the state's bonded debt, authorizing the Sewerage and Water Board of New Orleans to use surplus receipts from water rates for improvement and maintenance, and radical antitrust legislation.

In 1920 the state was shaken by a reform movement. John M. Parker was elected governor of Louisiana, and Andrew J. McShane mayor of New Orleans. Parker was a national figure who had made a great record, during the war, as National Food Administrator. McShane defeated Martin Behrman, who had been mayor since 1904. His administration was not a happy one. Behrman was re-elected in 1924, finding what he called "vindication" in the large vote, and served until his death in 1926.

On May 29, 1901, the river front returned to public control, after thirty-six years of private operation to which the city's desperate

⁵ *Daily Picayune* editorial, June 29, 1911.

financial condition forced its surrender in 1865. When the Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans—a state body commonly known as the Dock Board—took charge, the foreign-trade facilities consisted of wharves at which forty small ships could find accommodation and which nearly every high water swept away; and a few inadequate sheds—acres of merchandise, awaiting movement, had no better protection than tarpaulins.

In seven years the Dock Board rebuilt the wharf system, and made a beginning on the fireproof steel sheds which now spread their broad miles before the city; and before many years passed, the city would see such specialized facilities as the cotton warehouse, the grain elevator, the bulk-commodities plant, the banana unloaders, and the coffee dock. Rates fell, and public administration brought a development in fairness and efficiency that has won wide praise among shipping authorities.

No longer confined to one season, New Orleans' foreign trade began an all-the-year movement. So large was the port's increase in importance that when the Illinois Central railroad's Stuyvesant Docks were destroyed by fire February 26, 1905, with a loss estimated at \$3,000,000, the company rebuilt them on a larger scale.

The importance of a publicly operated railroad facility coordinating water and land transportation facilities was recognized as early as 1888. In 1897 an active campaign to that end was launched. In 1900 the City Council passed the necessary ordinance, and in 1904 created the Public Belt Commission to carry the plans into effect. The golden spike, marking the beginning of the work, was driven by Mayor Behrman July 1, 1905, at Girod and Lafayette streets. "Next to the grand sanitary works of the city now under construction," said the *Daily Picayune*, November 8, 1906, "there is no public work or enterprise that can compare in importance with the construction of the Belt Railroad." The system began to operate on August 18, 1908, a vital and a vitalizing contribution to the port's efficiency and economy.

The sanitary works to which the editorial alluded were the drainage, sewerage, and waterworks facilities with which New Orleans had met the demands of the twentieth century—but that needs a separate chapter.

Life

IN 1905 WAS fought and won the second Battle of New Orleans, the final conquest of yellow fever, which killed in the Southland alone, during one short century, 150,000 men, women, and children, sickened more than half a million to the point of death, and drove millions in terror from their homes. That scourge began in 1905, with a greater threat than in 1878. Not only was it the last of the epidemics in the United States, but the victory was of immense importance to the entire world, for it confirmed, on a colossal scale, Dr. Walter Reed's experiments of 1899 in Cuba, which showed how the disease is transmitted and how it could be brought under control, and led to Dr. Adrian Stokes' development of a preventive vaccine in West Africa in 1927.¹

¹ Dr. Rudolph Matas elaborated this thought in 1924 when the Louisiana Historical Society gave a reception to officers of the Southern Medical Association. He said: "The lessons taught by Gorgas' brilliant suppression of the yellow fever in Cuba were not long in finding an opportunity to confirm their value. This time, the struggle for supremacy was to take place in an arena even more propitious to the stegomia (yellow fever mosquito) than Havana, in the conditions favorable to its activities and propagation. For it was in New Orleans, the great semi-tropical metropolis of the South, with its warm summers, its hundreds of thousands of rain-water cisterns, its miles of open gutters and a population of over 300,000 people of whom more than 75 per cent were not immune, by previous attack, to the disease—it was the New Orleans of 1905 that was to be the scene of the contest. . . . The great epidemic of 1878 which had sickened over 27,000 and killed 4000 of its inhabitants, was not forgotten, but the five lesser epidemics of 1879, 1880, 1883, 1897 and 1899—especially that of 1897, with its nearly 2000 cases and a total of 300 lives lost—proved that the great conflagration of 1878 had not nearly exhausted the supply of living combustible that was available for the spread of the disease."

After studying the Reed findings, Dr. Quitman Kohnke, then health officer of New Orleans, and a small group of physicians warned the city to take measures to prevent another outbreak. The next visitation, they said, might not be of such a mild type as that of 1897. Most doctors and most of the people laughed at the mosquito crusade which he wished to put under way in 1901. "Just another fad," they said, "like bathing the streets with carbolic acid in 1878."

Hidden in banana importations from the tropics, infected mosquitoes reached the city in May. By July 12 more than a hundred cases and twenty deaths proclaimed to the world that the yellow plague was again in New Orleans.

Shotgun quarantines were erected around the city. Some hysterical communities refused to receive the mail from there unless it had been fumigated; others turned back shipments of Paris Green, needed in the fight against the boll weevil; still others, iron in bulk and whisky in casks. Conditions "approaching anarchy existed in portions of the Gulf states," reported the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce later in the year.

In Mississippi the panic took a warlike turn. That state invaded the sacred soil of Louisiana. It threw an armed guard upon the Rigolets railroad bridge, five miles inside the state, and forbade the passage of Louisiana fishing boats from Lake Pontchartrain into Lake Borgne, both in Louisiana. It captured and towed to Ship Island, in Mississippi, eighteen Louisiana fishing boats. Governor N. C. Blanchard of Louisiana ordered out the Naval Brigade. On August 3, Louisiana's "Majestic" met Mississippi's "Grace" near the Rigolets bridge. If the former's machine gun had not outmetaled the latter's shotguns, there might have been an "incident"; after some threatening gestures, the "Grace" withdrew. Later, Mississippi's "Topsy" stopped Louisiana's "Tom" in Lake Borgne, but was overpowered by the latter's superior force, the sheriff, and a detail of naval reserves; and the entire crew, consisting of a pilot and an engineer, surrendered, and were later fined

\$10 each in the St. Bernard parish court. The "war" ended August 5, after raging for eight days with a copious outpouring of printer's ink.

New Orleans asked the Federal government to take charge of the fever campaign. A committee of citizens guaranteed expenses. On August 8, the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service swung into action. The commander of the army in the field was Dr. Joseph H. White, assistant surgeon general. He planned the battle along the lines laid down by Walter Reed.

He screened the 60,000 cisterns and salted or oiled the hundreds of miles of gutters and canals in New Orleans—breeding places of yellow fever mosquitoes; he screened houses; he fumigated, superintended medical treatment, searched out the terror-stricken when they hid in attics and sheds to escape the new methods which they feared because of newness, and forced them to receive the services of physicians.

Doctors Quitman Kohnke, Farrar Patton, Edmond Souchon, and Sidney Souchon of the state and city boards of health, backed his policies fully. Among the medical volunteers who did conspicuous service in this second Battle of New Orleans were Doctors A. L. Metz, Herman Gessner, Allan Eustis, King Logan, Charles Seeman, M. J. Magruder, Charles Chassaignac, P. E. Archinard, Harry Dickson Bruns, John Callan, T. S. Dabney, J. B. Guthrie, Joseph Holt, Hamilton P. Jones, Jules Lazard, Louis G. LeBoeuf, E. D. Martin, E. L. McGhee, John F. Oechsner, G. Farrar Patton, O. L. Pothier, T. Farrar Richardson, J. A. Storck, S. L. Theard, and Fred J. Mayer of Opelousas. Among the laymen were the Reverend Beverly Warner whose "Wear a smile on your face and a flower in your buttonhole" became a rallying cry; Father Paoli in the emergency hospital; Charles Janvier, Will Henderson, Hewes Gurley, George Leverich, Captain Robert Perrin, Charles and Arthur Palfrey, Robert B. Parker, Harry Charles and George Alain.

Before the summer was over, the *Journal of the American Medi-*

cal Association said: "Already it is possible for us to speak with the greatest pride of the conduct of the citizens of New Orleans. Never has a community more readily received or more generously accepted the advice of scientific physicians. With startling and admirable confidence in the newest teachings of scientific medicine with regard to the causation and mode of propagation of yellow fever, New Orleans has furnished the money and volunteers necessary to carry on rational methods of exterminating an epidemic. New Orleans certainly has earned the respect of the world." ²

The victory was as breath-taking as that of Andrew Jackson in 1815. In his story of the fight, printed in the *Daily Picayune* on October 15, Dr. White said there were 8453 known cases and 924 known deaths, of which 7370 cases and 802 deaths were in Louisiana, 3286 and 423, respectively, in New Orleans. In none of the seventy-one other yellow fever epidemics which had spread their blight over New Orleans since 1796, had there been so few deaths for the entire visitation when as many as fifty-seven cases were reported as early as July. This was the end of the menace for New Orleans and the South. By October 23 the last quarantine against New Orleans was lifted. ³

"The victory of 1905 had the immediate effect of inspiring confidence in the future of New Orleans and the whole Southern seaboard," said Dr. Rudolph Matas in 1924, when the Louisiana Historical Society gave a reception to the president and officers of the Southern Medical Association. This confidence was reflected in the annual business review—52 pages—of the *Daily Picayune*, September 1; and the announcement of October 15, in the same newspaper, that the Maison Blanche department store had purchased property at Canal and Dauphine streets, including the old Grand Opera House—a \$1,500,000 transaction—as a site for its new

² Quoted by the *Daily Picayune*, August 31, 1905.

³ At a conference of delegates from Southern states in Chattanooga, in November, 1905, it was decided that the Federal government should have permanent charge of quarantines, and the power went to Federal authority April 1, 1907, after Congress and the Louisiana Legislature passed the necessary laws.

twelve-story home, which would be completed two years later. Dr. Matas continuing: "It put a new spirit and a new faith in a once apathetic, plague-stricken, discouraged population. . . . It made necessary the abolition of the cisterns, the open gutters, mud streets and other perpetual culture media for the breeding of insects and the spread of disease. It was therefore the battle of 1905 which put a spur to the sanitary regeneration which we contemplate with so much pride in the New Orleans of today."

New Orleans, in 1900, had cut in seven new drainage pumps, able to move 4700 cubic feet of water a second, as compared with the 600 or 700 by the four undershot wheels which dated back to 1860; in 1903 it had begun the sewerage system, and in 1905 the new waterworks—both would begin to function in the principal part of the city in 1908. But the epidemic of 1905 put new drive behind the work, it silenced the arguments of those who counted the cost. Even then, it was obvious that the \$12,000,000 which the people had voted in 1899 was only a beginning, but the need was life-and-death.

No city in the United States faced such a problem. Not only do subsoil conditions make the construction, operation, and maintenance of sanitation facilities unusually expensive, but there is also the topographical problem. New Orleans is a flat city, all of it below the flood level of the Mississippi river in front, and two thirds of it below the storm level of Lake Pontchartrain in the rear. Into this 196-square-mile area fall 60 inches of rain a year, concentrated at times into 3 inches in a single hour. Not a drop can flow out by gravity, all has to be pumped over the levees which keep river and lake from the city. Sewage must be pumped several times before it reaches final disposal. The Mississippi river, from which New Orleans draws its water supply, contains a ton of solid matter to every million gallons. To remove this, to destroy bacteria and to soften the water, there is an elaborate chemical and filtration process, and the water that gushes from the hydrants is a manufactured product almost in the same sense as a bottled beverage.

George G. Earl, chief engineer, general superintendent and consultant of the Sewerage and Water Board from its erection in 1899 to his death in 1940, planned the three systems; A. Baldwin Wood, now general superintendent, invented the pumps necessary to do the work for which no adequate machinery had been built—pioneer engineering in both cases. The drainage pumps are twelve and fourteen feet in diameter—the largest drainage plant in the world, with a discharge capacity of nearly 26,000 cubic feet of water a second, more than enough to keep two Thames rivers flowing past London town at flood stage; pumps which can keep New Orleans dry even when the river is twenty feet above the ground level in front, and the lake is six feet above the floors of the pumping stations in the rear; pumps which have lowered the water table, formerly within a few inches of the ground surface, nearly ten feet, have made possible the building of cellars in New Orleans,⁴ and, with the drainage of surrounding marshes, have modified the climate of the city, now a degree warmer in the summer and half a degree cooler in the winter because of the difference of solar radiation from wet and dry soils.⁵ These pumps are fed by a thousand miles of canals and main-line drains.

In the sewerage system there are more than 700 miles of mains, and the pumps have a discharge capacity of more than 1300 cubic feet a second.

Through nearly 900 miles of water mains, the water system can deliver 112,000,000 gallons a day.

These figures are as of 1940. By that year New Orleans had spent on its drainage system \$26,661,000; on its sewerage, \$17,090,000; on its waterworks, \$25,051,000—total \$68,802,000. It strengthened the sanitation lines in 1914 by ratproofing all premises and wharves

⁴ The first cellar in New Orleans was built in 1884, under the old Cotton Exchange building, which occupied the same site as the present. It contained the boilers of the heating system. The fact that it did not leak was more of an accident than a tribute to the design of the architect, William Freret. As late as 1909 buildings in the principal business district of the city had leaky basements.

⁵ Isaac M. Cline, *Temperature Conditions at New Orleans, as Influenced by Sub-surface Drainage* (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1914).

—\$11,262,000 more—because of the bubonic plague which had invaded San Francisco as early as 1904 and was threatening New Orleans.

It was money well invested. From 1880 to 1899, the average death rate in New Orleans was 28 per thousand, as compared with 18 per thousand in the average American city. It dropped in 1901, the year after drainage began to operate, below 24 per thousand. By 1921, three years after the above-ground cisterns were outlawed, it slid to 18 per thousand; by 1940, to less than 15. This includes non-residents, the thousands of desperately ill persons who are taken to the city, from the surrounding country, because of its superior medical advantages. Nonresidents excluded, the death rate is about 11.

The death rate from malaria has dropped from 156 per hundred thousand in 1889 to 1; the death rate from typhoid has dropped from 39 per hundred thousand to fewer than 8. The average length of life, in New Orleans, has been extended from 37 years in 1900 to more than 57 years.

Times-Picayune

WITH THE death of the Nicholsons, the *Daily Picayune* lost the personal animation that had made it so distinctive. From the founding, nearly sixty years before, it had been identified with some vivid leader—Kendall or Holbrook or Pearl Rivers—who became the voice, the soul of the community and whose individuality permeated every page. Even when the *Daily Picayune* expanded beyond the capacity of one mind to encompass more than the general direction, it was personified as “the old lady of Camp street,” an affectionate reference to Pearl Rivers’ “age.” Nevertheless, when the masthead was changed, February 1, 1904, from “Estate of Mrs. E. J. Nicholson” to “Nicholson Publishing Company,” it marked the end of an epoch.

The newspaper would become impersonal and objective, a factual medium, a means of marshaling data from which the public could draw conclusions, without the guidance of those it knew and trusted. In a steadily growing population one person could not know or be known by as large a percentage of the community as in the “old days.” Plant costs would bring in company operation, the size of the paper would force the retreat of the editor’s personality.

The new company was capitalized at \$200,000—two thousand shares of stock of \$100 par. Most of it was owned by the Nicholson brothers, Leonard and Yorke.

T. G. Rapier, who from office boy had risen to be business man-

ager, became executor of the estate, and, as such, the directing force of the *Daily Picayune*. He was a man of much ability and foresight. When the company was organized, he was elected president. Harry McEnerny, a reporter whose sports column, *Mack's Melange*, had achieved a national audience, was elected vice-president and manager in 1911. He was succeeded, in the management, by Yorke Nicholson, who served only a short time and resigned because of illness. The paper then drifted.

Through the first decade of the century and beyond, the *Daily Picayune* continued to hold leadership in its field. It continued its steady development, modernized its format, added to its departments, and activated the progressive spirit which moved New Orleans to such impressive achievement.

In line with its community stimulation, the *Daily Picayune* instituted the annual award of a loving cup to the New Orleans citizen who, during the year before, had rendered the most outstanding public service. The choice was made by a disinterested group. The first presentation was on April 12, 1902, to Frank T. Howard, for his contribution to the cause of primary education.

Advertising disappeared permanently from Page 1 on weekdays after February 9, 1904—blasted off by the Russo-Japanese war. After July 17, 1910, it disappeared from the first page of Sunday's paper.

As early as 1893 the *Daily Picayune* had experimented with comic pictures. In 1905 it made a feature of them. On July 2 it ran its first full page of jokes and humorous drawings. On July 21, 1907, it added the *Illustrated Sunday Magazine*, printed by a national syndicate, sixteen to twenty pages of articles, fiction and illustrations, some of them local. In April, 1909, it made the cartoon a regular feature on Page 1: for local subjects, it depended on its own artist, on a syndicate for national. It began printing the daily comic strip May 4, 1911, and on October 1 of that year, began running a page of strips on Sunday. When the *Daily Picayune* be-

gan to use color on Sunday, November 2, 1913, it was running four pages of comics.

Weekday issues held steady at 16 pages except during the Texas oil furore of 1901, when they bulged to 20. By that year, the Sunday issue had grown from 32 pages to more than 40; it swelled to 68 by 1909, 78 by 1913. Even during the yellow fever epidemic of 1905, the paper put out 16-page issues on weekdays, 48 on Sundays. The September 1 issue—annual business review—grew enormously. It reached 110 pages in 1907, the largest issue the *Daily Picayune* ever put out. In 1912 the September 1 issue was almost as large, 96 pages.

Circulation, too, grew, but the profits that had once been in circulation disappeared with the increasing size of the paper, and, in addition, competition forced the subscription rate, on September 15, 1913, from \$12 a year to 65 cents a month.

From the simple operation it had once been, newspaper publication was become a highly specialized and tremendously costly manufacturing process. Machinery grew larger and more expensive; telegraph tolls increased; the cost of news service rose; paper, ink, and other materials climbed; so did labor. Management sought out every possible economy, but under competitive conditions which made it necessary to give the consumer more and more for his money, the reach and scope of economy was limited. Without circulation, there would be no advertising; without news, features, and pictures piping hot from all parts of the world, there would be no circulation.

All over the United States increasing costs forced the consolidation of newspapers, and the movement would increase with the passing years, until a balance was reached between what the advertising community could afford to pay, and what the press had to receive in order to meet expenses and earn a profit.

In the fierce battle for business, the *Daily Picayune* lost, and the *Times-Democrat*, its morning competitor, gained. By 1914, the *Times-Democrat* had a circulation of 32,000, as compared with the

Daily Picayune's 28,600. It was printing 16 pages on weekdays, 60 on Sundays, as compared with the *Daily Picayune's* 14 and 58, respectively, a desperate economy to which it had been forced. But what was more important, the *Times-Democrat* had more advertising—a great deal more. For its Panama World's Market issue of December 20, 1913, the *Daily Picayune* did not have enough business to justify its eighty pages: under happier conditions, this would have been a record-breaker. With the morning-field business divided, both papers suffered.

There was only one thing to do—merge. They did.

The *Daily Picayune* made its last appearance on Sunday, April 5, 1914; it put out the last issue of the *Twice-a-Week Picayune* on April 6.

Of the thirty-one newspapers in Louisiana when it first stirred with life—seven of them dailies—only the *Bee* of New Orleans remained.

The two newspapers carried identical announcements which filled two and three-quarter columns on April 5—the *Daily Picayune* on Page 13, part 1, the *Times-Democrat* on Page 1, which also contained Cartoonist W. K. Patrick's drawing of the *Times-Democrat* duck inviting the *Picayune* frog into the former's puddle: "Come on in, the water's fine."

The next day, the *Picayune* began its new life, a stronger life and one larger with community service, as did the *Times-Democrat*—two vital streams flowing together to reach a power and a performance, through the *Times-Picayune*, which neither could have attained by itself.

Each brought supplementing interests to the consolidation, each enriched itself by the traditions of the other.

Like the *Daily Picayune*, the *Times-Democrat* rooted itself deep in the past, and had received its inspiration from beginnings.

On September 20, 1863, when the War Between the States had passed the peak, was founded the *Times*, a Union paper, in the hope of mending division in New Orleans. On September 19, 1875,

when carpetbaggers were approaching the end, was founded the *Democrat*, which helped to restore government to the people. The first editor was Richard Tyler of Virginia, son of the former President; then came Major H. J. Hearsey, a brilliant leader, who later created the *Daily States*. The *Times* and the *Democrat* were merged, December 4, 1881, to form the *Times-Democrat*.

Dedicating itself to the upbuilding of the South, the *Times-Democrat* put out more than thirty special editions describing the resources and possibilities of the states thereof and of Latin-American countries important to Mississippi Valley trade. It emphasized the South's timber resources, and showed the feasibility of draining the Florida Everglades. During the flood year of 1882, it sent a fleet of news-gathering and supplies-distributing steamboats into the stricken sections. It was the first newspaper in New Orleans to put in linotypes—1891 was the year; the first to have its own engraving plant—latter part of the decade.

It was written and edited by brilliant men. Ashton Phelps was president of the Times-Democrat Publishing Company from 1889 until his retirement a year before he died, December 12, 1919. He rose from the ranks. He specialized in finance and economics: his daily cotton review was authoritative, and it was further distinguished by an appropriate Shakespearean quotation.¹ He created the Doll and Toy Fund, in 1896, to carry Christmas into the homes of the poor children of New Orleans—one of the city's most heart-warming dedications.² Page M. Baker, formerly of the *Daily Picayune*, was manager of the paper from 1888 until his death May 28, 1910—a fearless and constructive editor, cultured and well-informed. D. D. Moore succeeded him: entering the organization as a printer in 1895, he transferred to the editorial department four years later, and by his executive ability forced his way up.

¹ A Shakespearean quotation appeared above the daily cotton story until October 2, 1930.

² It may have been the seed dropped by Pearl Rivers that flowered into the Doll and Toy Fund. In a half-column appeal in the *Daily Picayune* December 25, 1883, she wrote: "Oh mothers, whose hearts are so tender toward your little ones this Christmas morning . . . remember those forgotten little ones! Go out and hunt them up!"

"The union of the two newspapers," said the announcement of the merger, "means for New Orleans and its trade territory a bigger and better paper. It means better service to the subscriber, to the advertiser and to the community. It means that both subscribers and advertisers will get more for their money."

The first issue, April 6, contained sixteen pages; the first Sunday issue, April 12, sixty-four. Before the month was ended, the Sunday issue climbed to seventy pages. The announced circulation was more than 76,000, divided almost equally between city and country.

The *Picayune* biweekly was absorbed by the *Times-Democrat* weekly, and the new weekly continued until early in 1923. The profits, when this publication was discontinued, had dropped to \$300 a year.

Until certain legal formalities had been discharged, the new daily carried the names of its two predecessors, "The *Times-Democrat*—The *Daily Picayune*." On May 12, it appeared under its new name, the *Times-Picayune*; and the Times-Democrat Publishing Company yielded to the Times-Picayune Publishing Company.

Created April 6, 1914, the Times-Picayune Publishing Company was capitalized at \$700,000—seven thousand shares with a par value of \$100. Stockholders of the *Times-Democrat* received five thousand shares, of the *Picayune* two thousand shares.

The consolidation included only the name, good-will, and contracts of the *Daily Picayune*, none of its physical assets. The *Times-Picayune* issued from the old *Times-Democrat* plant, in that newspaper's type and format—seven-column pages, 13-em columns, a thousand words to the full column, headlines occupying about 25 per cent of the space. The building, presses, and equipment of the Nicholson Publishing Company were, in time, sold—everything except the copper eagle, which had lorded it over the *Picayune* plant since 1893, and would emerge from its storeroom exile, for a short time, during the Blue Eagle days of the National Recovery Administration in 1933. The *Picayune* job shop went out of business—the *Times-Democrat* had none.

Leonard K. and Yorke P. Nicholson were elected directors in the new company. Other members of the Board were Ashton Phelps, Albert Baldwin, Jr., Henry H. Baker, Chapman H. Hyams, Jr., Laurence O'Donnell, Alvin P. Howard, and Benjamin T. Waldo. Officers of the company were Ashton Phelps, president; Albert Baldwin, Jr., vice-president; and D. D. Moore, manager and secretary.

The best features and policies of both papers were continued—the Loving Cup and the Doll and Toy Fund among them. The *Picayune's Sunday Illustrated Magazine* was dropped; and the weather frog, its prominence and size steadily diminished, in time disappeared. Patrick's duck never achieved the success of this cartoonist's whimsey.

Many *Picayune* employees, in all departments, joined the new organization. City Editor Herman J. Seiferth returned to reporting, and for years wrote the "Lay of the Land" column, a daily feature on agricultural development, and later he developed the real estate department. The city editor of the *Times-Picayune* was William H. Steele, who had left the *Picayune* the year before the consolidation to become city editor of the *Times-Democrat*.

Mr. Rapier joined the *Times-Picayune*, but did no active work. He died September 27, 1928. Major Thomas E. Davis had already retired as editor of the *Daily Picayune*. He died February 19, 1917.

During the month of the merger, the Mexican situation boiled over. President Wilson sent the American fleet to demand a salute to the flag for past insolences, and Dictator Huerta refused to give it. Our sailors and marines bloodied the beach at Vera Cruz. The Sarajevo pistol shot detonated World War I—and business went to pot.

Armageddon

WHEN THE heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, was assassinated June 29, 1914, the *Times-Picayune* printed the story under a three-column headline and in two-column measure. This was merely a news evaluation of the crime, and was not prophetic of such an Armageddon as alarmists had been predicting for twenty years—Germany against England, and all Europe embroiled; but few in this country took them seriously. The American people had little knowledge of Europe beyond art galleries and bars, depending on the point of view of those who had made the tour, and no comprehension of Old World motivations. In their naïve theory, the size of the military machine was a guarantee against war, for what nation would risk the appalling destruction, the impossible cost of trial by battle under modern conditions! Kaiser Wilhelm was one of the year's most prominent candidates for the Nobel peace prize! Though deploring the brutality of the crime, the *Times-Picayune*, in its editorial of June 30, saw in the removal of the reactionary, power-grabbing and nationality-violating Francis a guarantee of "peace and tranquillity."

This country was much more interested in Henry Ford's experiment in labor relations, and the new direction drama was taking—the former with its minimum wage of \$5 a day of eight hours' work, the latter emphasizing the cinema in the 3000-seat theater which New York was building for motion pictures exclusively.

Suddenly, Europe became a maelstrom of warnings, ultimatums, and mobilizations—Austria-Hungary, Germany, England, France caught in the vortex, other nations feeling the current's fierce drag. "Europe Trembles on the Brink of War," proclaimed the *Times-Picayune* in a banner headline on July 26.

Liège, Namur, Mons, Louvain, Rheims, Tannenburg flamed and fell; inexorably the gray host rolled down, from Germany, counting the days to Paris; the British Contemptibles held their thin line; in taxicabs, France threw its last resistance to the Marne—and the advance was stayed. It was the beginning of four years which put 65,000,000 men under arms, killed and wounded nearly half of them (civilian losses enormously increased the toll), and consumed \$337,000,000,000 of treasure. -

Business went to pieces. London led the parade of closing stock and commodity Exchanges. New York tried to keep open, but later that same day—July 31—yielded to the storm. So did the New Orleans Cotton Exchange. The New York Stock Exchange did not reopen until November 28, and then for bonds only; not until April 1, 1915, did it allow unrestricted trading in stocks. The New Orleans Cotton Exchange resumed trading November 16, 1914. "Port's Commerce Crippled," said the *Times-Picayune* headline of August 5, 1914. Everywhere, business cut force: "You can't buy a job," became a saying. The South launched the "Buy a Bale" movement to sustain the disappearing values of cotton, already down to six cents; style designers emphasized the appeal with a hat, for women's evening wear, suggesting a boll of cotton.

The *Times-Picayune*, which had been printing as many as twenty pages on weekdays and seventy-two on Sundays, shortened sail as advertising ballast ran out. Even twelve pages on weekdays and sixty-four on Sundays were more than the business justified. The business review of September 1 contained only thirty-two pages.¹ But even while the war was making up, the *Times-Pica-*

¹ The September 1 issues ran forty pages in 1915, forty-two in 1916, thirty in 1917, seventy in 1918 (Sunday). There was no special trade issue on September 1 after 1918.

yune expanded its reader service by opening a Washington bureau, to which it assigned Paul Wooton, a member of the staff. His dispatches became of increasing importance, and helped New Orleans and Louisiana to understand and meet changing economic conditions.²

From \$30,000,000 a day in 1914, the military cost of the belligerents rose to \$80,000,000 in 1915, and \$103,000,000 a year later. Filling the needs of the Allies, the United States did an increasing business: the British blockade prevented exports to the Central Powers, though many shipments did reach them through neutral channels. By December 4, 1915, when Ford's bickering peace expedition set sail for Europe to "get the boys out of the trenches by Christmas," the United States was entering upon a boom. That was the year, by the way, in which transcontinental telephone service was begun—on January 25; and in which wireless carried the human voice from New York to San Francisco, and two thousand miles beyond, to Honolulu—on September 29. It was also the year of the hurricane of September 30, which struck the Mississippi Gulf Coast and New Orleans with a 120-mile wind, strewing the beach and the streets with wreckage, including part of the front wall of the *Times-Picayune* building, and killing 350 persons.

Illustrating the general business improvement, the *Times-Picayune*, on June 15, 1916, quoted the advance made by automobile stocks in a year—General Motors from 150 to 565, Willys-Overland from 126 to 325, Maxwell common from 45 to 89½, Chandler from 89 to 131, Chevrolet from 93 to 278, Chalmers from 90 to 225. By April 4, 1917, wheat passed the \$2 mark on the Chicago Board of Trade, and by May 11 reached \$3.25, and the Board ordered the discontinuance of trading. Cotton reached 27 cents April 19 on the New York Exchange.

² He reached Washington a few weeks before the war burst. He is still on the job (1943). The *Daily Picayune's* first correspondent was listed in the Congressional Directory of the forty-second Congress, which began December 2, 1872. Before this, in 1870, the *Times* had a representative in Washington. But these were only correspondents. The *Times-Picayune* was the first New Orleans newspaper to put a staff man in Washington.

Prices in every direction were marked up, and from consumers rose increasing wails and protests. "The present popular movement against the high cost of living," said the *Times-Picayune* in an editorial December 7, 1916, "has turned largely on the price of eggs," which retailed at 55 cents a dozen. Next year, letter postage rose to three cents—not to be reduced until nearly two years had passed. To worry about the "high cost of living" as much as about the war, the *Times-Picayune* on January 8, 1918, ascribed the increased mortality of New Orleans when the rate for whites rose from 14.43 per thousand in 1916 to 15.40 in 1917.

Increasing tonnage of war materials poured across New Orleans' wharves. Imports and exports increased from \$283,222,582 in 1914 to \$524,255,286 in 1918. New Orleans finished its public cotton warehouse, with a capacity of 2,000,000 bales a year, in 1914; the public grain elevator, with 4,000,000-bushel storage capacity, in 1917; the army supply base, three six-story steel and concrete buildings, each 600 by 140 feet, in 1917; the Industrial canal in 1918; and the bulk commodities plant in 1921.

The *Times-Picayune* responded to the times. Advertising lineage, by 1915, had grown to 6,049,037; circulation to 51,034 daily and 64,798 Sunday. The daily ran twenty pages, the Sunday issue as much as eighty. On November 1, 1915, the paper put in leased-wire service to New York, and on January 18, 1916, enlarged to eight columns. In 1915, it paid the first dividends—\$4 a share; in 1916 it paid \$6, and continued on that basis until 1920, when it made another increase. On June 3, 1916, color made its first appearance in the daily—in an advertisement by the old Hibernia Bank and Trust Company, which included a large American flag, appropriate to the day's preparedness parade.

Sympathy inclined, in this country, to the Allies, because of the language and other ties with England, and because Germany's attack on Belgium aroused fair-play resentment. In Louisiana, the French tradition accentuated this feeling. Business relationships added their pull—the Allies were our principal customers. There

was a clamant war party. But there were enough descendants of the Central Powers, in this country, and there was enough propaganda, to cause a real division. Up and down the land the controversy raged. The Sixty-third Congress, which ended March 4, 1915, broke all records for speech-making, filling 32,000 pages of the Congressional Record, nearly three times the normal volume to that time. But the peace party was stronger; Wilson won re-election in 1916, though by a narrow margin, on the platform "He kept us out of war." This was after the sinking of the "Lusitania" on May 7, 1915—1198 men, women, and children sent to their death by a German torpedo, 115 of them Americans, for whom Germany offered to pay \$5000 each. If Germany had not persisted in unrestricted submarine warfare, if it had not arrogantly denied the seas to American ships, the United States probably would not have entered the war.

Through those bitter days, the *Times-Picayune* held itself neutral, except on issues touching American rights. After the torpedoing of the "Lusitania," it pointedly asked, "What is Washington going to do about it?" and suggested the answer in Patrick's "Prepare for War" cartoon of July 28.

Elsewhere, sentiment was running in the same channel. New York, in May, 1916, touched off a series of preparedness parades throughout the United States. The one in New Orleans was held June 3—forty thousand marchers in line, estimated the *Times-Picayune*: they were four hours passing City Hall.³

But the preparedness which was preponderant in the American mind was preparedness, not to enter war, but to make Germany, realizing that this country could do more than write notes, back down from its arrogance. Germany's continuing determination, emphasized by sabotage and plottings in this country, forced the United States to enter the war April 6, 1917.

³ *Times-Picayune* editorial, June 3, 1916: "Today's demonstrations mean only that the American people, now as always, love their country, its institutions and its peace—well enough to fight for them; that they believe it ought to be adequately prepared for efficient defense against possible foes who will attack only if they believe they can take us unprepared and incapable of resistance."

Then there was mighty preparation—money to be raised, war materials and supplies to be manufactured, an army to be created, ships to be built, hospitalization to be made ready. In every respect the United States was unprepared, as meatless, wheatless, and heatless days later proclaimed. The electrical generating capacity of the nation was so inadequate that theaters had to close and industry had to curtail peace-time production, so that war needs could be filled.

The shortage of paper, during that period, forced the *Times-Picayune* to reduce size. The daily continued to run as many as twenty pages, but the Sunday issue dropped to fifty in the summer of 1916, and forty-six in the fall of 1918. On October 20 of that year, it fell to thirty-six, the smallest Sunday issue the *Times-Picayune* ever put out, but that was during a flu epidemic, when business was disorganized and it was a problem to find reporters, printers, and carriers. On May 21, 1918, the paper shrunk its columns to 12½ ems in width, and on October 17, 1921, to 12 ems, the present size. The saving was an inch and a third of paper to the page, which multiplied by the number of pages and the size of the edition, meant a large saving to the publishers, without any appreciable reduction in news content or advertising service.

Sauerkraut became Liberty cabbage, Berlin street in New Orleans became General Pershing street.⁴

Ten million young men registered for the draft on June 5, 1917. Of these, two hundred thousand were Louisianians.

Louisiana sent eighty thousand men to the land and sea forces of this country. Camps and cantonments rose in City Park race track, at the Fair Grounds, on Tulane University's campus, and on the lakefront near West End. The Algiers Naval Station swirled with activity. In November, 1917, the *Times-Picayune* began the publication of *Trench and Camp*, weekly paper for the men training at Camp Beauregard, near Alexandria.

New Orleans oversubscribed its Liberty Bond, War Savings

⁴ Berlin street was named in honor of a French victory under Napoleon. But few persons knew that.

Stamps, Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, Young Men's Christian Association, and other quotas by \$11,940,734—it raised \$103,303,184.

The Washington Artillery, the First Louisiana Infantry, and the Second Cavalry went to France; the Naval Battalion performed a large service. These were the only commands that were conspicuously identified with Louisiana; under the draft, the men were scattered through many units. Major General John A. Lejeune of Pointe Coupée parish and his Marines broke through the Hindenberg line when the fighting was at a critical stage, and he became the commander-in-chief of that corps.

One hundred and forty-one Orleanians died in service. Among them was the *Times-Picayune* reporter, David J. Ewing, who, entering an officers' training camp, was commissioned a second lieutenant and was killed in action July 27, 1918.

Waterways

DECKED WITH flags, given Godspeed by all the whistles in the harbor, the towboat "Nokomis" and three barges left St. Louis on September 28, 1918, and pointed her nose downstream.

She reached New Orleans, Thursday, October 10—a hundred and fifty hours in transit. No blare of band, no cheer of crowd, no thunder of orator greeted her. Influenza epidemic—more than two thousand cases at the time—had caused the authorities to call off the reception that would have shaken the skies, for New Orleans loves occasions of this kind, and for years, her leading citizens—with others up and down the tawny waterway—had been working for this consummation. The "Nokomis" rounded to, slipped alongside the wharf, made fast; the grain elevator, like some gargantuan elephant, searched in the barges, with its proboscis, and began to suck up the 60,000 bushels of wheat.

Two days later, the first tow left New Orleans for St. Louis.

Thus did transportation resume on the forgotten river, with a downstream cargo of 60,000 bushels of wheat, 270 tons of corn, and 330 tons of miscellaneous freight; and an upstream cargo of 1200 tons of nitrates, coffee, and Mexican hats.

Abandoned these many years except for dwindling local services, the Mississippi was touched with life by the energizing influence of the Great War, and the need, no longer to be denied, of developing larger transportation facilities.

In the Act approved August 29, 1916, Congress made provision for the President to operate the railroads as a war emergency. Assuming control December 28, 1917, he soon learned that the railroads could not expeditiously transport the tonnage which the bursting needs of the day demanded; he also saw the possibilities of the Mississippi river system, the flowing road which in the 1859-60 season had carried 2,187,560 tons of freight to New Orleans.

The Federal Control Act of March 21, 1918, made provision for a \$500,000,000 investment in improved and expanded transportation facilities. It authorized the President to set up agencies and build transportation facilities on inland, canal, and coastal waterways. In April the Committee on Inland Waterways recommended the utilization of the New York barge canal, the lower Mississippi, and the canalized portions of the Black Warrior-Tombigbee system—three projects which promised to meet broad public needs. For the lower Mississippi, it recommended the building of an \$8,200,000 fleet; for the Warrior-Tombigbee, a \$3,000,000 fleet to open a new transportation service from the Birmingham coal and iron districts and Mobile to New Orleans via the protected Mississippi Sound and Lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain.

Three months later, the government appointed M. J. Sanders Federal manager of the Mississippi-Warrior services and authorized him to commandeer the necessary equipment to operate them. Mr. Sanders was a steamship official of New Orleans who for years had been a tower of strength in the fight to restore river transportation.

That pitiful first fleet which he assembled consisted of twenty steel flat-deck barges, belonging to the United States engineer corps, on which temporary cargo houses had to be built, each capable of carrying 450 tons of freight; two 1000-ton barges, and three 600-ton barges belonging to a Missouri river transportation line; and five small towboats.

While rivermen traveled up and down the Mississippi, as passengers, to learn again the forgotten channels, Sanders placed orders for new equipment—barges which could carry all kinds of merchandise, towboats capable of pushing larger, and therefore more economical, tonnage.

From September 28 to December 31, 1918, 21,078 tons of freight moved down the Mississippi, 2281 upstream; total, 23,359; down the Warrior, 6958 tons—coal, nothing upstream.

Joint river-and-rail rates went into effect within six months; they reduced transportation costs 90 cents to \$3.70 a ton from the all-rail rates, and extended the services from river towns to the back country. During 1919, the first full year of operation, the southbound movement on the Mississippi totaled 69,033 tons, the northbound 35,428—total, 104,461; on the Warrior, 123,642 tons southbound—coal, 189 northbound—miscellaneous freight, total 123,831. When Federal control of the railroads ended March 1, 1920, Congress transferred the barge services to the Secretary of War, and the Inland Waterways Corporation was created to conduct the operations.¹

Forty steel barges of 2000 tons deadweight carrying capacity and six towboats of 2000 horsepower slid down the ways. By 1923 non-perishable freight was moving almost as rapidly by barge as by railroad. The Mississippi movement that year totaled 390,870 tons downstream, 319,561 upstream—total, 710,431; the Warrior, 181,796 tons downstream, 87,545 upstream—total, 269,341. The principal river towns began to build water terminals.

In 1927 the barge services were pushed up the Mississippi to Minneapolis; in 1931, via the Illinois-Desplaines-Chicago river system to Chicago, after engineering had restored the connection of the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico which had been interrupted by a shifting of the earth's strata; in 1935, after extensive channel-dredging, up the Missouri to Kansas City.

¹ Operated by the Department of Commerce since July 1, 1939.

By 1940 the equipment used in these services included 27 tow-boats, 3 tugs, 277 cargo barges, and 49 units of miscellaneous equipment, worth \$26,000,000.

During the depression of the early 1930's, the tonnage on the lower Mississippi and Warrior divisions dropped, with all business, from their boom peaks, respectively, of 1,435,560 tons in 1928 and 389,694 in 1927; but in 1939 it rose to 1,615,089 and 902,045, respectively.

On the upper Mississippi section the movement rose from 119,648 tons in 1928, the first full year of operation, to 348,561 in 1939; on the Illinois division, from 63,033 in 1932 to 345,623 in 1939; on the Missouri division, from 39,129 in 1936 to 121,041 in 1939.

Privately owned services also returned to the river.

War needs, too, brought to reality New Orleans' dream of more than a century to connect the water routes at its front and rear. When the Carondelet, or Old Basin, and the New Basin canals were begun, respectively, in 1794 and 1833, it was planned that they be extended to the Mississippi, opening a new gateway to Lake Pontchartrain and through it to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1827 Captain W. T. Poussin, topographical engineer, mapped such a waterway. The task was beyond the financial and mechanical means of the time. In 1888 the idea was revived, as the *Daily Picayune* reported December 15; again in 1902; and in 1914 an amendment to the state Constitution authorized the Dock Board to dig such a canal. Four years later—grown accustomed to planning in millions and feeling the goad of destiny—New Orleans undertook the task.

The choice of this port as the site for two shipyards, to build war tonnage, was the final impulse. The plan that was adopted February 10, 1918, called for a canal and lock able to float vessels drawing eighteen feet of water; the estimated cost was \$2,626,876, not counting the land—897 acres—\$1,493,532 more. Work began June 6, that year. Ships were then taking shape in a vast meadow, far from water, through which lay the canal route.

Plans were enlarged, while construction was under way, nearly 70 per cent. New Orleans decided to create a facility to serve the largest ships using the port, those drawing thirty feet of water.

A. Baldwin Wood, who had given New Orleans its drainage pumps, designed the hydraulic-dredge equipment able to meet the challenge of five and a half miles of cypress swamp which the canal would pierce. Work at the same time began on the lock—pioneer engineering, involving, as it did, a deeper excavation than had ever been made in that part of the world, through quicksands and gas pressures.

Twenty-four thousand 60-foot piles were driven to support the concrete lock, which weighs, with its gates and machinery, 225,000 tons—a structure 1020 feet long, 150 feet wide and 68 feet deep, with usable dimensions 640 by 75 by 30 feet.

Forty-six feet underground, was built a siphon, to carry city drainage under the canal to its point of discharge on the other side. Its capacity is two thousand cubic feet of water a second.

The canal was finished in April, 1921. It cost \$19,000,000.

It offers an ideal co-ordination of rail, river, and ocean transportation facilities at a fixed water-level, with cheaper operation and maintenance expenses than the twenty-foot rise and fall on the river front allows. By dredging lateral connections, an almost indefinite expansion of this new waterfront is possible, and it is subject to private ownership, not possible on the river. If a channel is dredged through Lakes Pontchartrain and Borgne, New Orleans can have a new route to the sea, should the Mississippi-river approach ever lose its usefulness.

To only a small extent have the possibilities been realized. Because of the necessity of protecting the large public investment on the river, the Dock Board has not been able to open the full inducements of the Industrial canal. But the possibilities are there, awaiting the future. In this as in many other directions, New Orleans has anticipated what is to be. The evaluation in the *Times-Picayune* of May 8, 1918, still holds good:

“The greatest stride forward in the history of New Orleans’ efforts to build itself into a great ship-building and industrial center has been taken.”

On the other side of the river, similar waterways development extending the reach of Mississippi transportation into the west had begun nearly two centuries before—the Harvey canal, as it came to be called in our modern period, a five-and-a-half-mile extension of the Mississippi to Bayou Barataria, which leads to Lake Salvador; this connects with Bayou Lafourche, seven miles away; from that point the flowing road leads to the Gulf front.

The canal was begun in 1737 by Jean Noel Destréhan de Beau-pré, treasurer and comptroller of the Louisiana Territory in French colonial days, to whom large land grants in today’s Jefferson parish were made—probably an enlargement of a drainage ditch which the records tell us existed as early as 1724. In four years’ time the shovels and axes of his slaves opened a channel twelve feet wide by four and a half feet deep—an important outlet for the fishing grounds and timberlands of the back country. His son, Nicholas Noel Destréhan, planter, city builder, art connoisseur, and member of the convention which framed the first Constitution of the state in 1812, widened it to thirty-four feet. Nicholas’ daughter Louise—Queen Louise, as she was known—and son-in-law, Joseph Hale Harvey, improved the facility, and in 1880 began the river locks which their son, Captain Horace Hale Harvey, completed in 1907.

Through the Harvey waterway system, the pirates of Laffite’s day carried on their traffic between Grande Terre and New Orleans; through it, steamboats carried the city’s fashionables to the famous resorts of the past century, Last Isle and Grand Isle, laced with the surf of the Mexican Gulf; through it the plantations poured their harvests of rice and sugar, the waters their bounty of oysters, shrimp, and fish, and the marshes their king’s ransom of furs; through it in our own century drives an enormous oil activ-

ity, no more astounding to this generation than was the fecundity of the soil to the men who opened the wilderness.

This Harvey waterway was one of the influences which evoked the intracoastal canal plan, to which the United States government committed itself in the Rivers and Harbors Act of March 3, 1925—a plan to join the Gulf and Atlantic seaboard with a transportation system through bayou and river and canal and protected coastal channels.

Captain Harvey—he who finished the locks in 1907—saw this possibility, and early in this century began to proclaim the economic value of such a development. For years he was a voice crying in the wilderness of “It can’t be done.” But by 1905 his enthusiasm inspired others, and the Intracoastal Canal Association was formed, to carry the message to Garcia—the American Congress.

On March 10, 1924, the United States government bought the Harvey canal for \$500,000; enlarged and extended it and other parts of the system until, at a cost of \$7,000,000, there was a channel 100 feet wide by 9 feet deep from the Mississippi river to Houston, some 300 miles away; and built a lock, costing \$1,700,000, for a larger connection with the Mississippi.

That lock was dedicated March 26, 1934—a steel and concrete structure 425 feet long, 75 wide and 12 deep, over the sill. It took the place of Captain Harvey’s brick and wooden lock, 165 by 30 by 7 feet.

Captain Harvey had only four more years to live, but they were years filled with the joy of a great work well done and which had won for him the title of “father of the inland waterways.” He not only saw the beginning of the waterborne commerce from the Mississippi system to Houston—the first barge tow, 1400 tons of steel from Pittsburgh on the Ohio, passed through the lock August 1, 1934—but he also saw the traffic driving beyond the million tons a year which the Chief of Engineers, U.S.A., said might flow through that waterway when the land had transportation to match its production.

Armistice

LIGHT SLEEPERS awoke to unwonted night sounds. Hopefully they peered through opened windows at the star-freckled sky, and listened to the thrum of whistles. Occasionally, pistols cracked, unreal with distance. Could it be possible that—Then all sound ceased. Another false alarm! Four days before, the world had celebrated war's end, only to learn, when the delirium was at its height, that the United Press had sent a half-cock dispatch.

Morning brushed out the stars with steel-gray tints. Suddenly, every whistle in the world seemed to let go—deep-toned steamers, shrill freight engines, factories of every pitch, sirens which ran crazy scales. Gunfire crackled. The city was smothered with noise. The air vibrated. Ears hummed.

Doors banged open, roosters crowed, men and women rushing into the street in pajamas and curl papers added their voices to the din.

Thus did the news that the hosts had laid down their arms reach New Orleans on the morning of Monday, November 11, 1918. The flash reached the city at 1:46 A.M. Three minutes later, extras were on the street.

"Armistice is Signed—Kaiser Out," proclaimed the *Times-Picayune's* banner headline.

Acting Governor Fernand Mouton, in a proclamation which

gave "Providence" due credit for the victory, declared a general holiday and called on all patriots to celebrate.

New Orleans joined the frenzy that shook the United States that day, that possessed England, France, Germany, and the other nations which had for so long been in the valley of the shadow. It was the "greatest celebration in the history of the city," recorded the *Times-Picayune*. "From early morning until long into the night, the city was ablaze with colors while thousands upon thousands of overjoyed patriots made the air rock with their shouts and cheers. Scores of bands, fireworks, a thousand and one parades, most of them impromptu, in streets that were literally packed with people, and a citywide tooting of whistles and ringing of bells were some of the features that stood out."

Forgotten was the flu epidemic—Spanish influenza, as it was first called—which had jumped from Europe to this country in the fall of 1918 to kill nearly half a million persons. In New Orleans, there were nearly a hundred deaths a day. Forgotten were the losses and the privations. Forgotten was the national debt which increased from \$1,188,235,400 in 1914 to \$23,976,250,608 in 1921; forgotten the war debts of Europe which by 1926 would total \$11,522,354,000. Forgotten was everything except that the peace for which the world had been struggling more than four years had at last come; that the war to end war had at last ended; that the world was at last safe for democracy.

The world is safe for men;
The world is safe for high, heroic themes;
The world is safe for dreams.

So sang Edwin Markham in his "Song of Victory." But—

"The war is not over," said Henry Morgenthau, who had been United States ambassador to Turkey. At Coblenz, Germany, he issued this statement to the Associated Press while the diplomats were getting rid of President Wilson's embarrassing Fourteen Points so they could sign the Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919.

The *Times-Picayune* printed the dispatch on Page 1, May 19, 1919. His croaking did not arouse as much interest as did the report, April 15, of bees swarming on a traffic policeman's umbrella on Canal street. Few in this country paid any heed to his maundering about the hatreds being sowed at Versailles, the revenges being so carefully cultivated.

The boys were coming home, business controls were being removed, there would be enough sugar for everybody, things were booming!

"Big Hearted Orleans Opens Flood Gates of Emotion," said the *Times-Picayune's* headline April 29, the morning after the return of its heroes. Astir before daylight, the city prepared for the arrival of the troop trains. Shower baths were improvised on the docks, tables were spread with a glorious breakfast. There was a parade, there was dancing in the streets all day. It was, recorded the *Times-Picayune*, "the most tremendous ovation ever accorded any body of men and women in the South."

The high hopes which had carried the United States into the war lived through the losing struggle of President Wilson to have this country join the League of Nations, his creation for enduring peace, which convened in Geneva, January 10, 1920; through the Limitation of Armaments convention which met in Washington November 12, 1921; through the Russian terror; through the rise of fascism in Italy in 1922; through the bitter period when Uncle Sam became Uncle Shylock to its creditor-allies. But disillusion had set in before the emergence of Nazism in Germany in 1932, and the increasing agony which this and other forces projected into the world showed Americans that the peace which they had celebrated had been only a truce. Some may have recalled Morgenthau's prophetic words: "We have got to prepare for a greater conflict, greater sacrifice, a greater responsibility. The nations are going to have further quarrels and disputes, and I believe that within fifteen or twenty years, America will be called upon to save the world."

Unrest

WARTIME profiteers found the going even better when peace swept away the controls, and despite the enormous volume of goods which the government dumped upon the market, shoved the cost of living to fantastic heights. Sugar went to twenty-five cents a pound, three-dollar shoes climbed to twelve, the price of clothing made one think of the fabulous cloth-of-gold. Rents soared. New Orleans achieved the distinction of the most expensive milk in the United States—nineteen cents a quart.

In 1920 the buyers' strike smashed into this situation. Women appeared in last year's frocks, men of wealth and position wore patched trousers, so eager sometimes to show democratic simplicity that they had patches sewn over sound garments. Overalls reached unexpected distinction when leading citizens began wearing them on dress occasions. The pastor of a New Orleans church donned this raiment. Some of this joy disappeared when the *Times-Picayune*, on April 18, 1920, showed that secondhand army overalls which the government had sold for sixteen cents were being bought for three dollars. People refused to pay rent. The movement caused inventory to climb, and this forced prices down. After reaching a peak in November, 1920, living costs began to recede.

War's end also released a long series of strikes, beginning January 9, 1919, with that of the New York harbor police, and reaching their highest sensation with that of the Boston police on September

9, which loosed rampant crime until Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, by prompt and courageous action, broke the strike and restored order.¹ Capital, resentful of Labor's increasing strength, retaliated with lockouts. There was much violence, and there were bloody race riots in Eastern cities, as whites struggled with incoming Southern Negroes for jobs which would enable even unskilled labor to affect silk shirts. The eight-hour day was made general—even the steel industry, on August 13, 1923, cut its working hours from twelve to eight.

In New Orleans 3000 streetcar-men went on strike July 1, 1920. They demanded 65 cents an hour, a 55 per cent increase over the former scale. Even if the Commission Council authorized a 7-cent fare, the company replied, the maximum it could pay would be 51 cents. The 6-cent fare, in effect since October 10, 1918, had not been able to stave off Federal receivership in 1919. The competition of automobiles—called jitneys (slang for five cents)—which the poor service of the old New Orleans Railway and Light Company's worn-out and inadequate equipment had evoked early in 1915, was cutting severely into the earnings.

Announcing that any violence would bring in Federal troops, Receiver J. D. O'Keefe resorted to strikebreakers. With a heavy guard of United States marshals, the first car moved July 3 on the St. Charles belt line, through sullen but silent throngs. By July 8 the service was almost completely restored, but the patronage was small. Many persons were afraid to ride the cars; many supported the Union demands. Jitney operators, who were reaping a rich harvest, kept the fires of propaganda burning in both directions.

The situation showed no sign of improving until the *Times-Picayune* on July 18 projected a new element into the controversy.

¹ "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time," said Coolidge in a telegram to President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, with which the policemen were affiliated. The fame which Coolidge won carried him into the Republican ticket as the running mate of Warren Gamaliel Harding in the 1920 campaign against the Democrats' James M. Cox and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Much had been said, it pointed out, about the rights of the Union; much about the rights of the company; but nothing had been said about the rights of the people, the riding public, the community that was New Orleans. It demanded that the strike be ended so that the city might go ahead with the business of life.

Managing Editor James E. Edmonds took a leading part in the negotiations, which at times reached the pitch of demand, looking to arbitration. On this basis, the strike was ended July 24. The strikebreakers departed, the carmen returned to work, and the three arbitrators began their study of capital return, wage scale, and streetcar fare.

The wage was raised to 55 cents, an advance of 13 cents, and streetcar fare, October 23, 1920, was increased to 8 cents. By July 1, 1922, living costs had so far fallen that the men agreed to a cut to 51 cents, to enable the company to reduce fares to 7 cents, on September 29, 1922. By the latter date, the receivership had ended, and the gas, electric, and mass-transportation services were reorganized under the New Orleans Public Service Inc., which introduced a new utilities era into its community. Carmen struck again in 1929, demanding, not more wages, but Union recognition with conditions that would have taken control of the business from the company. This time, the Union did not have popular support, and the company not only beat the strike, but refused to employ members of that Union.

Jack Dempsey, in three rounds, at Toledo, on July 4, 1919, won the heavyweight championship crown from Jess Willard, who had wrested it from Jack Johnson on April 5, 1915, in Havana; national prohibition began January 17, 1920, after six months of wartime prohibition, and ushered in thirteen years of hypocrisy, conniving, and graft; woman suffrage became effective August 26, 1920.

The *Times-Picayune's* editorial on Dempsey's victory reflected the changed attitude towards the ring since the elimination of its worst brutalities. Boxing, it said July 5, 1919, "is an admirable exercise, and the art of self-defense [is] worthy of study." For many

years the newspaper had been the champion of woman suffrage. "We Won't Give Up the Fight," proclaimed its cartoon of November 4, 1915, after the defeat of suffrage in the Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York elections. At a time when old prejudices in the South were being stirred against ratifying the proposed amendment, the *Times-Picayune* on February 20, 1919, emphasized its belief in the principle as "fair, just and democratic." Reactions against the excesses of the liquor industry inspired the newspaper's optimism when it predicted, on July 1, 1919, that the enforcement of prohibition would be easy. Louisiana ratified the prohibition Amendment the next month.

Fire destroyed New Orleans' French Opera House, December 4, 1919. "The heart of the old French quarter has stopped beating," wrote Lyle Saxon, then a reporter on the *Times-Picayune*, soon to assume the toga of author. There arose a clamor to "rebuild immediately," and impressive support was promised, in newspaper interviews; continued to be promised though in diminishing force, for twenty years. But cash was coy. Saxon's evaluation was in terms of the past, not the present. New Orleans' love of opera had slipped to a tradition, as the *Times-Picayune* sorrowfully acknowledged on December 4, 1915. For years the city had given only perfunctory support to opera. In the changing interests, even the theaters disappeared, vaudeville as well as drama. Le Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré, founded in 1919, kept the footlights burning for the few;² but the city which, with half the population, had supported week-runs of plays, and two-week runs of extraordinary attractions, has in recent years been a one- and two-night stand for the brightest stars of the stage.

To this period belongs the resurrection of the Vieux Carré, the

² Le Petit Théâtre du Vieux Carré was the reorganization of the Drawing Room Players, created in 1916, and the answer to the clamor that more be admitted to amateur dramatic work than was possible when the efforts were confined to private homes. It improvised a playhouse in the lower Pontalba building, later built its own theater on St. Peter street, near Chartres. Other amateur organizations were created in the years that followed: Le Petit Théâtre achieved the largest success, artistically as well as financially. It erected the St. Peter street playhouse in 1922.

original city of New Orleans. The *Times-Picayune*, on February 16, 1919, reported ambitious plans to develop an art center there. Old buildings were repaired, squalor yielded to modern plumbing, undesirable tenants gave way to the better element who could afford to pay higher rents. Unsuspected charm and beauty emerged from what, in real-estate appraisal, had been a dump heap, and, after long neglect, New Orleans recognized this part of the city as one of its most important and most distinctive assets in attracting tourists. Early phases of the restoration did not emphasize this as much as they did the convenience of apartments in the Quarter—once it became respectable to be seen there—for illegal drinking and illicit amours, translating Bohemianism, during the decadent 1920's, into license. But age, if not repentance, overtook this element, and its successors have had different motives. Many would rather live there than anywhere else in New Orleans. The business that has grown up is a substantial one; and thanks to the Vieux Carré Commission, the old-world placidity, solidity, and distinctiveness are preserved in a new world of rush, flash, and standardization.

New Orleans' Elks initiated a class of 2360 on February 2, 1918, and 2200 on March 29, 1919, and bragged that theirs was the largest Lodge in the United States—membership 7975. The recently built home in Elk Place was the most impressive in this country, a stone structure occupying a site 123 by 128 feet and consisting of a basement, three floors, and a roof garden—cost, \$800,000.³

New Orleans sacrificed its Carnival in 1918 to war needs. It did not have time, after the Armistice, to prepare the pageantry for 1919, but street maskers turned out in force on that Rexless Mardi Gras. In 1920 the celebration was revived. The military parade which had formerly introduced the Monarch of Misrule into the city was dropped, but the future would see new parades, new balls added to the observance.

³ Membership of the Elks shrunk to a few hundred during the depressed 1930's. Unable to meet its notes the organization lost its building in 1935 and moved into smaller quarters.

That same year evoked the recurrent miracle worker. Brother Isaiah, as he was later known, drifted down the Mississippi in a shantyboat, and made fast at the upper end of New Orleans. He was a dirty, ignorant, and silent man, with a profile which by accident or art suggested the conception of Christ. Almost immediately the superstitious in his neighborhood assumed that he had the divine gift of healing. The report spread, reached the newspapers, became a furor. Soon, the parade of pain was many blocks long—the maimed, the sick, and the halt—men, women, and children, some from distant states—most of them poor, some of them wealthy—waiting hopefully, prayerfully, for Brother Isaiah to lay gnarled hands on them and command them to go forth whole. Some cures were reported, as there always are, for faith can shock the mind out of a fixation as well as a fire, which also has its cures; but those suffering from organic ailments continued to suffer. Even the failures proved his power to those who believed—"they did not have sufficient faith," ran the explanation. Those with means pressed large gifts upon Brother Isaiah; he started a cult, with many disciples, near Ocean Springs, Mississippi, and later went to California.

Of more lasting value was New Orleans' riddance of a pest which for years had made life a burden to housekeepers. The release was one of the many community contributions of the *Times-Picayune*.

That pest was the Argentine ant, an accidental importation which, finding conditions favorable, had multiplied prodigiously. Ants possessed New Orleans. Was food hidden in swinging shelves hung from the ceiling? They found that one wire or rope, and everything was covered with them the next morning. Were ice boxes moated in pans of water? They pontooned the water with particles of dirt and invaded those strongholds. They ravaged fruit trees, they made gardening an endless battle, they attacked those who sat on the lawn, they occupied the beds. It was estimated that they did \$3,000,000 of damage a year in New Orleans.

After an experimental campaign in 1921, the *Times-Picayune*

became convinced that the pest could be eradicated, and on July 11, 1922, launched a city-wide crusade. Organizing the city by wards and precincts, the *Times-Picayune* called for volunteers. It pushed the campaign with the thoroughness with which it went into every undertaking; and before long, people saw, spoke, and heard nothing but ants. About twelve hundred women of the Federation of Clubs raised the funds—nearly \$40,000, with the newspaper's gift of \$480 heading the contributions—with which to spread a poison blanket over all New Orleans. The poison was manufactured under the supervision of the state Department of Entomology; it was distributed by a fleet of automobiles owned by the campaign organization; it was placed effectively. Every part of the city was treated. When the campaign ended, December 11, there was hardly an ant to be found; next year, figs, oranges, plums, and grapes hung heavy where formerly there had been desolation. Occasional applications of poison by a population which learned its effectiveness then has kept the pest under control. Other parts of Louisiana, and the Mississippi Gulf Coast, subject to similar attack, have achieved security by the same means.

Boom

IN THE REPUBLICAN victory of 1920, Warren Gamaliel Harding was elected President—a plausible, incompetent executive whose projection into office emphasized the break with the past, and helped to make that break more demeaning. For a generation the political scene had been dominated by Bryan, Roosevelt, or Wilson—one or two of them a candidate in every presidential election since 1896. Now Bryan was discredited, Roosevelt was dead, Wilson was broken in influence as he was in health.

Harding visited Louisiana, November 18, 1920; he made a brief stop at Baton Rouge and received the greeting of Governor John M. Parker and about three thousand citizens, then continued to New Orleans where he “electrified” his audience, in the *Times-Picayune*’s evaluation, with an address on harmony; inspected the Elks’ new home; enjoyed gumbo, diamond-back terrapin, and chicken and rice à la Creole; and boarded the “Parismina” for Panama. New Orleans was one large ovation.

No one ever made a better impression than Harding. He did not suggest greatness, neither did he suggest weakness. He typed the national mood which emphasized appearances in the decade opening to the tune of “Smiles.” His promise of a return to “normalcy”—there was no such word, but nobody cared—after the horrid readjustments symbolized by overalls, fell on eager ears. That happy

condition swelled, in the filling of the tremendous needs caused by destruction abroad and deferments at home, into a boom which rivaled John Law's Mississippi Bubble; and the corruption of the Harding administration helped to swell that boom and to set a new standard of conduct. Less than a year after Harding's death, August 2, 1923, the indictment of his Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, for bribery, and Nan Britton's book, *The President's Daughter*, a few years later, were examples which seemed to justify the moral let-down of the postwar period and the contemptuous disregard of law—the Constitution itself—in the attitude towards prohibition. The books and plays of the period reflect the disintegration of national morale, which not even the austere administration of Coolidge could restore.

It was during this period that feminine raiment reached an all-time low, as far as volume is concerned. Bobbed hair and copious rouge became the outward and visible sign of a new freedom for women. They smoked openly, and enormously helped the cigarette industry on which the curse had been removed by the war, as shown by a production increase from three billion cigarettes in 1900 to forty billion in 1918; they drank openly and reacted noisily. Dancing became a frenzy of contact—an unhappy period for the lifting of the ban on dancing (1924) by the Methodist Episcopal Church; love songs reverted to biological shrieks; sexual reserves yielded to living one's own life, especially when the philosophy was glorified as "trial marriage." Worn-out rounders moaned that they had been born too soon.

The prohibition law became a joke, then a tragedy. It was the "smart" thing to violate it. In a public address, the president of the Association of Commerce declared that New Orleans had no intention whatever of observing this article in the Constitution, and the sentiment was grimly applauded. Official corruption winked at smuggling and the marketing of confiscated liquors. Homebrew, wine bricks, bath-tub gin and decoctions from wood alcohol and other products increased the flood. There were some arrests—

principally when the pay-off was not satisfactory, or when the law co-operated in removing an inconvenient competition; but only the dead did not know what was going on, and where. By droves, men and women wedged themselves into dirty dens to drink noisome booze which sometimes blinded, sometimes killed. Bootlegging became big business—organized from production to distribution with political support—and territory-control was won by gangs of thugs in the smoke of machine guns.

Business roared upward. "My God, How the Money Rolls In" became the theme song. College graduates became sensational bond salesmen almost before their diplomas were framed. Stocks boomed, the entire nation became ticker-conscious, even the barbers had tips on the market which hard-boiled businessmen followed. The speculative mania touched real estate. Florida became fabulous; hotels, subdivisions, and cities were built on the theory that a dollar "invested" today would bring in at least two tomorrow; all over the country, men and women bought lots from blueprints. The movement washed into the Mississippi Gulf Coast, into New Orleans, and into the resort sections of Louisiana, and sand and swamp spiraled to fantastic "values" as sale after sale marked up new paper profits. Syndicates were launched in casual meetings on the street; many commitments and many subscriptions were signed against show windows—neither promoter nor promotee had time to go into an office to discuss the proposal, and besides, what was the use! A new era had dawned!

Nineteen ocean vessels entered the New Orleans harbor on July 7, 1919—a record. The port's trade movement that year—foreign and coastwise—totaled 7,895,681 tons. There were two large dock fires in 1920—at the Desire street wharf on November 20, with damage estimated at \$450,000; and at the Jahncke Dry Docks on December 16, with damage estimated at \$1,914,000; but the trade total that year climbed to 10,823,863 tons; and continued to climb—11,702,557 in 1921; 12,316,662 in 1926; 12,901,130 in 1928.

During this deuces-wild decade, New Orleans raised its skyline

and opened two new highway and bridge routes to the east, taking the place of slow and costly ferries.

In the previous decade, the city had begun its modern vertical growth with the St. Charles hotel annex and the Carondelet—the old Hibernia—building, in 1905; the Roosevelt—then known as the Grunewald—hotel annex facing University Place, in 1907; and the Whitney bank building facing St. Charles street, in 1911. These were twelve and fourteen-story structures. But the next decade topped them, with the new Hibernia building, twenty-four stories high; and the fourteen-story Whitney annex, on Common street, in 1921; to say nothing about the six-story Cotton Exchange building erected on the site of the structure raised in 1883; the fifteen-story Roosevelt hotel main structure, on Baronne street, the site of the old Grunewald, in 1925; the sixteen-story Père Marquette building at Common and Baronne streets, where Jesuit college had stood for so long, in 1926; the eighteen-story Masonic Temple on St. Charles street, on the site of the one erected in 1892; the nineteen-story Canal building on Carondelet street, in 1927; and the twenty-three story American bank building on Carondelet street in 1929; and many other structures.¹

The top cost in construction, during the 1910-decade, was \$1,500,000; during the 1920, it was \$5,000,000.

The towering solidity of New Orleans' financial center—lower Carondelet street—resembled a canyon; the lofty skyline which had grown from the flat city of the preceding century became the delight of photographers; the lights atop the Hibernia and Ameri-

¹ With foundation piles driven two and a half feet apart on centers, architects estimate that the safe load per pile, in New Orleans, is twelve and a half tons, though structures have been built there with a load as heavy as eighteen tons to the pile. This rule and the Building Code restriction as to height in relation to width of streets limit the height of structures in New Orleans to three hundred feet, except for ornamental features, such as towers. For the Canal street business section and the adjoining office building section, the Building Code says the structure may be two and a half times the width of the widest street it faces, but provides that at this height the building can go up still higher if there is a setback: it permits a rise of five feet for every foot of setback. For calculation purposes, the Code arbitrarily sets the minimum and maximum widths of the streets at fifty and one hundred feet, respectively.

can buildings were visible to ships more than twenty miles away: the former was listed as a beacon by the Federal lighthouse service for several years.

On April 9, 1923, a New Orleans man began airmail service from the port to ships at the mouth of the river, a service which continued for several years. On March 19, 1927, a group of New Orleans men organized the St. Tammany-Gulf Coast Airways, Inc., won a government contract, August 19, 1927, to carry the mail from New Orleans to Atlanta, and began that service May 1, 1928, with two ships.² This was ten years after the Post Office Department began airmail service between New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, and nine years after the *Times-Picayune*, on March 18, 1919, made the first airplane delivery of its paper—to Mandeville, on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain, less than twenty-five miles from the Southern Yacht Club at West End—a gesture to draw the attention of an aviation-unconscious community to the new transportation.

The Watson-Williams bridge across Lake Pontchartrain was opened to traffic February 18, 1928, giving New Orleans a through highway route to the east via the Old Spanish Trail, one of the more important trunk lines in the country. Up to then, motorists had lost much time on ferries. It was the longest concrete bridge in the world—4.78 miles—reached by ten miles of embankment approach through marshes, and it rested upon nearly three thousand concrete piles, two feet square and of an average length of seventy-four feet. Its official name was the Pontchartrain bridge, but everyone called it after the two investment bankers, Eli T. Watson and George E. Williams of New Orleans, who promoted the \$5,500,000 development. The tolls were \$1.35 per automobile; ten cents of that went to the state.

² Carl C. Friedrichs, homestead official and attorney, was the leader in organizing the company. Other organizers were L. B. Giraud and Charles W. Fox, bankers; Meyer Eiseman, John Liuzza, and Roy Calamia, real estate; N. G. Carbajal, W. F. Graff, and Ellis E. Boggs, businessmen; M. D. Kostmayer, insurance; E. A. Makofsky, homestead secretary; and Thomas Ewing Dabney, newspaper reporter. The company was later absorbed by larger capital, and is now part of American Airlines, Inc.

Louisiana in 1918 had adopted a Constitutional amendment providing for funds to open an eastern highway outlet by a different route, eight miles longer, across Chef Menteur and the Rigolets, and had strengthened this with the law of 1921. This was to be toll-free. When the administration of Governor Henry L. Fuqua granted the Watson-Williams franchise, the possibility of this competition was known, but the Watson-Williams Company did not believe the free route would be built until the toll investment had turned in a handsome profit. However, the people of the state interpreted the franchise as a monopoly, to be supported by abandonment of the free-route plans. They made furious protest. Early in 1926, twenty civic organizations, headed by the Association of Commerce, demanded free bridges. Less than a month after the War Department issued its permit, Governor Fuqua died, on October 1, 1926. This threw the issue into the political cauldron, which was then bubbling. Huey P. Long barnstormed through the state in bitter attack against all corporations, and made free bridges one of his principal issues. Lieutenant Governor O. H. Simpson, who succeeded Fuqua, was also a candidate, and attempted to steal the show from Long with the announcement, December 13, 1926, that the free bridges would be built.

Preparations for the Watson-Williams bridge were then under way, but construction had not made much progress. The company could have abandoned the project then, saving most of its capital, but it gambled that the free-bridge candidates would be defeated by Riley J. Wilson, or that the issue would be forgotten after the election.

It might have been forgotten, despite the fulminations of Long, who was elected; certainly it would not have reached such a pitch of public demand had it not been for the *Times-Picayune*. That newspaper had long been the champion of the free-bridge route, and its insistence at this time had no political implication. The toll promoters had their newspaper support, and the *Times-Picayune* could have profited heavily, through its advertising columns, had

it taken a perfunctory stand; but it gave all it had to the popular cause.

Certain newspapers in the East attacked the good faith of the state of Louisiana in destroying the toll investment; the *Times-Picayune* kept the real issue before the people, and Leonard K. Nicholson, president of the company, kept the hostile and uninformed East thoroughly informed of the facts.

Four months after the Watson-Williams bridge opened, work began, June 2, 1928, on the Chef-Rigolets route. Before this, Simpson subsidized the ferries, so the toll route had a free competition from the beginning. The Chef-Rigolets bridges, costing \$1,600,000, were opened June 9, 1930.

The toll bridge went into receivership February 4, 1929. Rates were cut to \$1, were cut further still, but this did not win public favor. The bridge was sold to the state, at public auction, for \$600,000, December 19, 1938, and made a free bridge December 22—renamed the Robert S. Maestri bridge, after the mayor of New Orleans; but the Legislature in 1940, after the political upheaval of the year before, passed a law that no public structure should be named after a living person, and the name is now the Pontchartrain bridge.

Louisiana, in 1921, adopted a new Constitution. The need for a new basic law became evident in 1914, after Supreme Court decisions declaring certain acts of the Constitutional Convention of 1913 invalid because it had gone beyond its authority. Louisiana, therefore, had two Constitutions in force, that of 1913 and that of 1898, and in the resulting confusion the courts were badly congested. Governor Luther E. Hall's political faction in 1915 tried to call a Constitutional Convention, but the faction of Ruffin G. Pleasant, a candidate for the governorship, checkmated the move. For the next three years the Legislature tried to cure certain defects, but made matters worse, and court dockets were years behind. In 1919 the Bar Association, meeting in Baton Rouge, urged the Legislature to call an unlimited convention; the *Times-Picayune* sup-

ported the movement; and both candidates for the governorship, John M. Parker and Frank P. Stubbs, took up the cry. In 1920 the Legislature made the call, restricting enactments in only three directions: no interference with the state debt or that of any subdivision of the state; no public officer's term to be shortened; the state capital not to be moved.

The Constitutional Convention opened March 1 and closed June 18, 1921. In the 79 days of the session, the 146 members introduced 678 measures and adopted 44 of them. The new instrument cost the state \$302,500. It went into effect July 1.³

In Governor Parker's summation, its four outstanding features were: creation of a greater state university, reorganization of the judiciary, creation of a highway program, and the recasting of the suffrage article.

In planning for the enlarged Louisiana State University, special emphasis was placed upon developing the agricultural college. To finance this, the Constitution made provision for a \$5,000,000 rehabilitation fund and a half-mill tax after January 1, 1925.

In the reorganization of the judiciary, the Supreme Bench was increased from five to seven, and it was authorized to sit in two divisions, drafting judges in the Courts of Appeal to serve with it when necessary. Courts of Appeal were also authorized to draft judges. District judges were made interchangeable.

A State Highway Department was set up and implemented with a two-cent tax on gasoline and increased taxes on automobiles, all the avails to be used in building highways, one of the day's most pressing needs, on a "pay as you go" basis.

The suffrage regulations adopted the Mississippi "understanding" clause, and the Connecticut and Georgia "good character" clause. To vote, one must be at least twenty-one years old, a resident of the state for two years, of the parish for one year, of the municipality for three months and of the precinct for three months,

³ Constitution of 1921 was printed in full, with an analysis, by the *Times-Picayune*, June 19, 1921.

next preceding the election; must have a good character, comprehend the duties of citizenship, be able to read and write, and understand the Constitution of the United States; and must have paid a poll tax of \$1 during the two consecutive years preceding the election year.⁴

The new Constitution set up the State Board of Education; increased the powers of the Railroad Commission; renamed the Public Service Commission; abolished pocket vetoes; made provision for reforestation; authorized the Public Belt Railroad to sell \$15,000,000 of bonds for building a bridge across the Mississippi river at New Orleans; and established severance taxes on natural resources, one fifth of the total, up to \$200,000, to be allocated to the parishes on oil and gas produced therein, the rest to go to the state. It fixed the Senate membership at 39, the House at 101; and increased the legislator's pay from \$5 to \$10 a day. It adopted a bill of rights.

⁴ Poll taxes went to the schools. They were discontinued in 1934, but to vote one still had to show poll-tax certificate as well as registration papers, until 1940, when the receipt was abolished.

K.K.K.

SIX MEN in flowing white robes and wearing white hoods with cavernous eye-holes, on the night of May 28, 1922, stalked through the sudden silence of the Carrollton Presbyterian church in New Orleans, laid a note upon the altar, and marched out.

This was the first public appearance, in New Orleans, of the revived Ku Klux Klan, then seven years old and well established in Louisiana. The purpose was not so much to emphasize the high moral character of the dead brother to whom the memorial service was dedicated, as to ride the publicity wave which the *New York World's* exposure of the klan the year before had raised. New Orleans' Old Hickory Klan No. 1 had for months been holding meetings in Shalimar Grotto Hall, 1125 Dauphine street, but it needed new members. Similar sensations in other parts of the state, and throughout the South, followed. The parade of klansmen into the First Baptist church of Monroe, Louisiana, June 14, 1922, to deliver \$55 to the pastor, was a typical instance. Seldom had Page 1 been achieved so cheaply.

The new K.K.K. was organized in Atlanta, October 26, 1915, by William G. Simmons, who, after a career as Methodist exhorter, professor, and membership solicitor for the Woodmen of the World, yearned for some more profitable outlet for his talents. He chose the Ku Klux Klan because that name had already been "sold" to the public—the South's weapon against carpetbaggery

which many persons, still alive, remembered, and of which the younger generation had recently been made aware by Thomas Dixon's novel, *The Clansman*, and David Wark Griffith's cinema, *The Birth of a Nation*. He breveted himself a colonel, that he might be no mean successor to General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who had headed the original klan; and launched a membership campaign—\$10 initiation fee, \$6.50 for hood and costume which cost less than \$2 to make. A large cut of every dollar went to Simmons.

He built the klan appeal upon "One Hundred Per Cent Americanism." The war years produced riots, spy scares, and sabotage by foreign agents; the postwar years, profiteering, race and class antagonisms, labor agitation by the I.W.W., Bolsheviki borings from within, and violation of the Constitution in the matter of prohibition—all most un-American. If this country was to be made safe for democracy, men with the sturdy virtues of the founding fathers must rally in an "invisible empire," of which he was the "imperial grand wizard," and by the force of their example and influence, keep the American destiny on the road to higher things.

He restricted membership to native-born whites of the Protestant faith—any exclusiveness enhances value. He made membership secret—mystery is easy to sell. He prescribed the quaint costume—human nature craves the unusual, especially in personal adornment; also, there were manufacturing profits.

He also organized the women into the "Ladies of the Invisible Empire," sometimes called "klannesses."

The meetings followed the usual fraternal pattern—impressive ceremonials enshrining religious devotions and allegiance to the flag, followed by sermons, which reflected the influence of the many ministers and preachers who joined, and the collection of funds for a sick brother, a worthy charity, or some church in financial trouble. Everybody pledged themselves to law and order, but there was never any action fomented in the organization

against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, or foreigners; nor were any extra-legal crusades launched or even discussed.

During the war years the klan did not make much progress. Everybody was too busy saving democracy abroad to bother about it at home. The Armistice found Simmons with about five thousand members. Interest then began to quicken. By 1921 the membership totaled half a million. The New York *World* saw in that a potent force; and in the klan's secrecy, its restricted membership, and its high-flown pronouncements in behalf of law and order a sinister design to stir up violence, precipitate civil war, and seize political power. It laid this new threat before its readers, and syndicated the articles, which the *Times-Picayune* printed September 6 to 26, 1921.

If it had not been for that, the klan would probably have died shortly. The first bloom of enthusiasm was gone. Many members had resigned, more were on the point of resigning, because the meetings, lacking purpose, had become dreadfully dull. But when they found themselves so outrageously accused, through their organization, they had a purpose, and that was to prove the falseness of the charges. The publicity gave the klan an interest which Simmons never could have engineered; all he did was to inspire such publicity as church donations for a ready-made market. Prospects, knowing the character of their friends who had already joined, were eager to become members. By July, Simmons claimed five million klansmen.

But, though the klan in its organization was innocent of evil, it contained the elements of evil, the same elements that had made General Forrest disband the original Order—the unrestrained power latent in secrecy, and the misuse of that power by vicious men to further private vengeance and schemes.

Even if there were none such in the klan, there was no lack of criminal minds elsewhere. Anybody could scrawl the initials K.K.K. in ink, paint, or blood. Anybody could wrap himself in a

sheet. Soon the papers sprouted headlines of violence attributed to the klan—night-ridings, whippings, expulsions, murders. In some cases the victims were undesirables—incompetent or grafting officials, pimps, gamblers, bootleggers. But some innocent persons suffered. Most of these outrages originated outside the membership; some undoubtedly stemmed from klansmen, but it was the result of their own warped minds, not of klan action. In either case, the klan organization was to blame because it suggested that a government of men should supersede a government of law, and because it prepared a cloak for crime.

It was for this reason that Dixon on January 23, 1923, denounced the revived Order, though he had glorified the original one which met the challenge of the law's denial; it was for the same reason that the *Times-Picayune* denounced it.

Comparing it to the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850's, that newspaper, in a Page 1 editorial of December 12, 1922, pointed out that the organization did fan religious and race hatreds, despite its protestations to the contrary, and moreover "threatened usurpation of political control by an invisible empire." The klan's claim of Americanism, it said, "must be judged by Ku Klux practices and methods, not by Ku Klux professions," and added, "Our Federal Constitution defines Americanism. Upon it, our American institutions are founded. Ku Klux methods of 'preserving' both are plainly subversive of the things Ku Klux orators profess to venerate and uphold."

President Harding refused to take action looking to the disbanding of the klan; but Louisiana's governor, John M. Parker, declared war on it. He threw down the challenge at a meeting of the Lions' Club in New Orleans October 31, 1922, in these words, as reported in the *Times-Picayune*: "When we have in Louisiana an outside organization seeking to control this state politically, seeking to be prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner in one, seeking to take the place of the constituted law, then I tell you that it's in-

cumbent on your executive, if he is a man, to stamp that organization out."

The klan's answer to that, November 28, was to erect a wagon-load of wooden signs, shaped like headstones, on the lawn of the executive mansion in Baton Rouge, announcing a K.K.K. initiation in that city on Thanksgiving night. The visitors even tied up Bill, the governor's Airedale, an indignity never before visited upon that dog. Souvenir hunters carried off the astonishing announcements. Another answer was the public initiation of 382 klansmen in a field opposite the Algiers Naval Station of New Orleans. The klan invited newspaper reporters and cameramen to be present. Its hooded representatives conducted them almost to the foot of the flaming cross where the neophytes were encompassed by about five hundred members in full regalia and five hundred not in costume, according to the *Times-Picayune's* story of December 1. The exalted cyclops cheerfully posed, with his official family, for pictures; and placed the reporters where they could catch every word of what he said—a wise precaution, for words were sadly muffled by the hood.¹

In December, 1922, Parker launched the Mer Rouge attack on the klan, probably the most fantastical legal process in the history

¹ The *Times-Picayune* of December 1, 1922, reported that speech as follows: "The living Christ is the klansman's criterion of character. Not for self but for others we serve and sacrifice. We are gathered here to-night as law-abiding Christian people, Americans all, striving for the betterment of America and its people. Not in defiance of the law, but as Christian upholders of law and order, and of justice, do we gather. Under the light of yon cross do we stand together, united in a great and noble cause, the uplifting of humanity. Of us, many things have been said; many disgraceful charges have been made, linking the name of the Ku Klux Klan with lawlessness. We are sworn enemies of the lawless; we believe in the tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, closer relationship between capital and labor, protection of our pure womanhood, preventing the cause of mob violence and lynching, preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators, prevention of fires and destruction of property by lawless elements, the limitation of foreign immigration, closer relationship of pure Americanism, the upholding of the Constitution of the United States, the sovereignty of our state rights, the separation of Church and State, freedom of press and speech, and much-needed local reforms."

of Louisiana, one in which assumption and prejudice—and possibly worse—hit the stride of the Middle Ages. Melodrama never achieved a more sensational plot, or a more illogical series of events. Writers swarmed into the little town; they clogged the wires with their dispatches, they bulged the mails with their special articles.

Four months before, a hooded band, in the northern part of the state, had seized and flogged a number of men. Two had disappeared. The raiment of the floggers was quite different from the klan costume, but the klan was immediately charged with the outrage. No bodies were found, but it was immediately assumed that F. W. Daniel and T. F. Richards had been murdered.

Armed with rifles, four machine guns, and eight thousand rounds of ammunition, a company of the National Guard moved from Monroe to Mer Rouge. Divers explored Lake Lafourche, fifteen miles from Mer Rouge, and dynamiters blasted along its shoreline. The waters yielded two badly decomposed and unidentifiable bodies. More companies of Guardsmen moved in; and from January 5 to January 25, 1923, sensation was piled on sensation at a public hearing to establish the guilt of the Ku Klux Klan, especially the guilt of Captain J. K. Skipwith, who had fought in the War Between the States, a member of Forrest's cavalry, and who, at seventy-four, was the exalted cyclops in Morehouse parish.

A brace of pathologists from New Orleans carried into the court room a bundle of bones, mounted on cardboard, and identified them as the missing men. Out of their expert knowledge they added that the victims had been "cruelly tortured by some specially prepared mechanical device." Other witnesses related that the klan had a flogging squad and a murder squad.

Klan spokesmen said the bodies had been planted, and that Richards and Daniel were still alive—merely having gone away; but they could not prove this, any more than the state witnesses could prove that klansmen murdered the men or that the klan fomented or in any way supported extralegal activity.

Nearly a year after the hearing ended without establishing anything, a legal process did find Captain Skipwith and two others guilty of "carrying firearms on the premises of another." This charge was filed as a result of revelations at the hearing. Captain Skipwith and a posse he organized in November, 1922, had seized one Alonzo Braddock, charged with illicit distilling, and taken him to the sheriff at Bastrop. He had not been commissioned a deputy, and therefore did not have the right to carry firearms; but the trial showed he had misinterpreted an informal remark by the sheriff as full authority to represent the law. This activity was a misdemeanor and the fine was \$10.

Nearly seven months after the open hearing, Governor Parker, unattended, was returning to Baton Rouge from Vicksburg on the train known as the Bumble Bee. At Centreville, Mississippi, three coaches filled with klansmen on one of their initiation junketings, were hooked on. They recognized the governor; and, clad in full regalia, paid him a visit. Governor Parker was one of the best known and most highly respected men of the time.

"Now, what do you think of us?" they asked.

"I think the same of you now as I have always thought of you," replied the governor. "Take off your masks and I'll better tell you what I think of you."

Said the report in the *Times-Picayune* August 18, 1923: "A lot of masks came off. Some of the kluxers began to laugh. Some of the kluxers, the governor knew. They passed by the governor then. Many of them shook his hand."

The Fuqua administration, which followed Parker's, put through anti-klan laws, requiring all organizations to file lists of members with the Secretary of State, prohibiting the wearing of masks in public places except on Mardi Gras day in New Orleans, and making any assault by a masked person a felony.

The registration requirement was a dud. Long before this, the klan had authorized its members to publish the fact that they were members, and many had done so. To meet the new requirement,

it was only necessary for the organization to transfer the membership listing of those who did not wish their connection to be known, to the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta or in a neighboring state. This was done. The complete "list of all members of the klan residing in the state of Louisiana, who hold their memberships in any organization in the state of Louisiana," as printed in the *Times-Picayune* of December 30, 1924, occupied only a column and a half of space. With the Secretary of State, the klan listed fifty-nine organizations, each with half a dozen or so members, officers for the most part.

While the laws were being shaped, the klan, on May 31, 1924, held an impressive initiation ceremony near Baton Rouge. Estimates said ten thousand persons were present. Automobiles were parked four abreast for a distance of several miles. Trainloads of klansmen from New Orleans and other parts of the state took part. There were fireworks. Thirteen days after Fuqua signed the bills, klansmen rented a theater in Baton Rouge for another initiation. The fiery cross continued to glow above the klan hall, almost in the shadow of the State House.

But the victory of the klan was also its defeat. Their innocence established, the efforts to destroy their organization blunted, members had nothing to hold their interest. The meetings became tiresome again; the supply of needy brothers seemed inexhaustible. High officials began quarreling among themselves. A receivership suit instituted against the Atlanta headquarters in the latter part of 1923, charging dissipation of funds, had already weakened confidence. Members resigned, or allowed their membership to lapse by the simple process of not paying dues. Even Captain Skipwith, lifted to the lecture platform by the Mer Rouge publicity, tired of talking about the klan.² In skeleton form, the organization continued for some years, but it really died when the attack which had made it was no longer able to sustain it.

² Captain Skipwith died August 19, 1933, at the age of eighty-five years. He was buried in Bastrop.

Intrex

NEW ORLEANS' developments in port facilities, cheap waterways transportation and economic power launched a movement to establish an International Trade Exhibition in that city—"the only permanent and continuous fair in the Americas," the New World counterpart of the Leipzig fair, some five hundred years old. Businessmen subscribed \$160,000 of stock. President Coolidge issued a proclamation endorsing the project, and the War Department turned over to the management, rent-free, one of its warehouses on the Mississippi river and the Industrial canal. C. L. Wallace, who had been receiver of the Texas and Pacific Railroad, was chosen to effectuate the plans. On July 16, 1924, he announced that the Exhibition would open January 1 of the next year.

January came, but it brought no Exhibition. Neither did February, nor March. The months slipped by. The project shortened its name to Intrex, but had nothing further to show for all the preparation. Foreign governments did not know this. Acting on President Coolidge's invitation, they began to send their displays, and there was no place to put them. Inquiries began to reach Washington through diplomatic channels; President Coolidge called in the two Louisiana Senators and asked what was the matter with New Orleans. They passed the word to Mayor Martin Behrman, and he called in some of the city's business leaders. "What are we going to do about it?" asked the mayor. "Nearly a year has passed since we

promised to open the Exhibition. Exhibits from Mexico, Guatemala and Cuba are here, cluttering up warehouses, and our president is in a most embarrassing position."

One of the men at the conference suggested that if a committee could sell 20,000 square feet of exhibit space to New Orleans manufacturers at \$3 a foot, the Exhibition could be opened. "I appoint you chairman," said the mayor. "Pick your own committee. Report back in three days."

S. Odenheimer was a busy man—president of the Lane Cotton Mills, chairman of the Manufacturers' Bureau of the Association of Commerce, and civic worker ever since his arrival in New Orleans forty years before. Because he was such a busy man, he had time for this job, and he reported back to the mayor in two days.

"All the space is sold."

"Good. Now you run the Exhibition."

"But, Mr. Mayor, I have my own business—"

"And you run it most successfully. That's the reason why I nominate you to be president of the Exhibition. Mr. Wallace is resigning. New Orleans needs you."¹

Mr. Odenheimer accepted that responsibility on December 12, 1925. He abolished "Intrex" and announced that the Permanent International Trade Exhibition would open on February 1, 1926. There was a mighty lifting of eyebrows. It just could not be done!

Odenheimer found an empty treasury, except for one postage stamp. On his own credit he borrowed \$150,000 from the Whitney National Bank. He put laborers, painters, and carpenters to work by the hundred. They cleaned and renovated the six-story structure, containing half a million square feet of floor space, they built the exhibit booths, they even created a lawn with a fountain.

From the beginning, the *Times-Picayune* had supported the project. When Mr. Odenheimer took charge, its enthusiasm rose.

¹ This was Mayor Behrman's last important official act. From that meeting, he went to his home, an ill man. He died January 12, 1926, 62 years old.

It did not question his ability to open on the day he specified. On December 29 it issued four special sections, containing fifty-six pages, emphasizing the importance of a development which in a few years could be expected to double the port's business.

On February 1 the Exhibition opened. President Coolidge, in Washington, touched the nugget-studded telegraph key with which President Taft had opened the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exhibition in 1909, and a gong sounded in New Orleans. There was a military parade; there was a twenty-one gun salute; there were speeches by Mr. Odenheimer, Mayor William A. Dever of Chicago, Acting Mayor Arthur J. O'Keefe of New Orleans, Congressman J. Zach Spearing, and several consuls. Then the thousands gathered in front of the building entered and looked at the displays of two hundred exhibitors covering 167,000 square feet of floor space—displays which dramatized the principal economic resources of many states and many foreign countries.

It became a mart, that Exhibition; it became one of the sights of the city, visited by citizens and tourists alike; it became the meeting place for civic organizations.²

Came the depression which began with the Stock Market crash of 1929. Business began to contract. It became increasingly difficult to sell space—or anything else; many exhibits were withdrawn.

Income fell below expenses. Odenheimer paid the difference out of his own pocket. In him lurked no thought of quitting, as long as there was hope. He asked the government for a subsidy to tide the Exhibition through the crisis. "Let us not lose the gains we have made in developing an international market," he urged.

² In a full-page tribute published December 19, 1926, in the *New Orleans Item*, a group of leading businessmen of New Orleans called Mr. Odenheimer "Santa Claus to his City." Continuing, the tribute said: "The International Trade Exhibition is today a success practically entirely because of this one man's efforts. He has given freely and fully of his time; of his vast vision; of his energy and his money—without idea of personal reward, solely inspired by a faith in New Orleans and a desire to see its trade possibilities broadcast to the world."

Government officials agreed that the Exhibition must be continued. The ways were prepared for a \$500,000 appropriation, contingent upon Louisiana's matching that with \$100,000.

The Louisiana Legislature passed such a measure, and Governor Huey P. Long signed it. When Mr. Odenheimer tried to collect, he discovered the joker. The bill provided for the allocation of monies not otherwise employed, and Governor Long could not find \$100,000 that was unemployed. He was offended at Odenheimer because of the latter's opposition to certain labor bills supported by the governor which, if enacted, would have put Louisiana at a competitive disadvantage with other states. He blamed Odenheimer for their defeat. Then and subsequently he rewarded those who supported him, and punished those who opposed him.

Then and then only did Mr. Odenheimer give up hope. Already he had put \$160,000 of his own money into the Exhibition. He could not continue to pay its way. On February 27, 1931 the stockholders voted to dissolve the Exhibition. The state never met its obligation, and of course the Federal government declined to give support when the home folks abandoned the enterprise.

Every bill was paid. No one lost any money except the stockholders of the Wallace period and Mr. Odenheimer.

"The Exhibition," said Mr. Odenheimer in the *Times-Picayune* of February 28, 1931, "was the greatest asset New Orleans ever had. Its advantages were so great that the citizens of the city eventually will start the same move over."

Sugar

ON HIS plantation which occupied part of today's Audubon Park in New Orleans, Jean Étienne de Boré in 1796 proved that sugar could be made in Louisiana. He sold his first crop for \$12,000—a fabulous sum, particularly at a time when the current staple, indigo, was being destroyed by disease. The colony immediately adopted the sugar economy which in time covered about a hundred square miles of South Louisiana and reached a production of \$30,000,000 a year.

Twice in the past century the industry was almost destroyed—in 1835, when the tariff was reduced and production dropped 70 per cent, though the wholesale price ran from 8 to 15 cents a pound; and in 1864, when, in the destruction of the South's wealth by the War Between the States, the yield dropped to 5000 tons, one-fortieth of what it had been in the years before.

Economies of operation and irrefragable determination in each case saved the industry and built it greater than it had been before.

In this century, Louisiana's sugar swung still closer to extinction, and this time there seemed to be no hope, for the land apparently had lost the ability to produce. In 1921 the sugar yield was 289,000 long tons; next year it dropped to 263,000 tons; it slipped to 144,000 in 1923; to 79,000 in 1924; spurted to 124,000 in 1925; sunk to 42,000 in 1926. That year the yield of the entire sugar belt was worth only about \$5,000,000, the value of the strawberry crop in

one or two parishes. The cane harvested just about equaled the seed planted.

The falling sickness Dr. E. W. Brandes of the United States Department of Agriculture in 1919 diagnosed as mosaic disease, which had already swept through the cane fields of Puerto Rico and Argentina. The only cure, he said, was to plant new varieties, disease-resistant, as those countries had done. But the Louisiana planters paid no heed—they were no longer the careful farmers they had been when their principal concentration was upon the growing of cane, and sugar-making was a routine chore with equipment which cost a few thousand dollars; now the involved and costly manufacturing process consumed most of their attention. They did not have time to read farm bulletins. Too cold, too hot, too wet, too dry, land worked out, they said, and there was nothing they could do about it. Anyway, there was no new cane they could get, for the United States prohibited the importation of seed for general planting purposes.

On Southdown plantation near Houma, however, there were three men who read what Dr. Brandes had written, and pondered. They were David Pipes, Charles Krumbhaar, and Elliot Jones, who divided the financial, manufacturing, and production management of the plantation. From Dr. Brandes, they secured, in 1922, twenty-one eyes (seed) of a cane new to this country but proved mosaic-proof in Argentina.

This was P.O.J. 234—the 234th seedling evolved in the cross-pollenization experiments in Proefstation Oest Java; but scoffing planters in Louisiana said the letters meant Poor Old Jones.

The Southdowners planted that tiny row of P.O.J. Strong and green grew the stalks—no sign of mosaic, though they were surrounded by fields pale and droopy with the disease. They planted the entire yield. Next year, they did the same, and the next, and they kept this up until by 1927 they had enough new cane for their seven thousand acres, and to give the rest of the cane belt a start.

Louisiana in 1927 produced 63,000 long tons of sugar; 117,000 in

1928; 160,000 in 1930; and in each of these years, the new cane was given a severe trial by a disaster that would have spread wide desolation through the old varieties—the greatest flood in the history of the Mississippi river, the heaviest November rain on record followed by a severe freeze in December, and a prolonged drouth in the spring with unfavorable growing conditions throughout the year.

This success encouraged the development of new and better varieties, heavier in yield and more resistant to weather conditions; only two and a half tons needed to plant an acre, as compared with five in former years; two crops of stubble instead of one; growth so lush that the grass is shaded-out weeks earlier, with cultivation expenses correspondingly reduced.

The cane yield a century ago ran from 18 to 25 tons an acre. Now the average is about 20, where cultivation, equipment, and land are only fair, but under the best conditions the yield is 45 tons and more.

The early crushers—horse-driven and steam-driven—were able to express only 60 per cent of the cane juice; and the early methods of manufacture were able to extract only 80 to 90 pounds of sugar to the ton of cane. Today's more powerful mills and today's more highly refined processes have a yield of 165 pounds to the ton. From 755 pounds of sugar to the acre in 1926, the production rose in a decade to nearly 3700.

Louisiana's \$200,000,000 sugar plant climbed back to an annual yield of \$30,000,000, and could go to \$50,000,000 or more if the full acreage of former years were planted. It might go as high as \$100,000,000 if the full possibilities of the new canes were realized, for they have a greater climatic and soil flexibility than the old.

But, while Louisiana was emerging from the mosaic ravages, with many of its cane fields abandoned, the United States in 1933 passed the first of the sugar laws, assigning production quotas to the cane and beet sugar areas, on the basis of immediately prior history, to meet world-production conditions in sugar. Subsequent

laws continued the discrimination, which was especially heavy against Louisiana for the reason stated—this despite the copious proof that it can compete, under today's slight tariff encouragement, with tropical production, even though much of its plant is obsolete. So at a time when nearly every agricultural crop was producing a surplus, the crop which can never produce a surplus, in this country, was hobbled. Of sugar, the United States consumed about 6,600,000 tons a year as the 1930 decade ended, and if every possible acre were put in sugar, beet and cane, the United States could not produce much more than a third of that. Louisiana, in particular, was sacrificed to the quaint principle that sugar can be made more cheaply in the tropics. The principal reason for that is the lower living scale. For the same reason, wheat and beef and many other agricultural staples, as well as manufactures, can be bought more cheaply abroad than they can be raised or made in this country, but no one urges their abandonment or reduction for that reason.

When the restrictions are removed, the sugar industry, affecting more than 16 per cent of the national population in the twenty-one beet states and the two cane states—Louisiana and Florida—will add impressively to the wealth of the United States. Louisiana sugar will begin a new life, as it always has, every time it has been brought back from the dead.

Flood Control

THROUGH sixteen thousand miles of navigable, and tens of thousands of miles of nonnavigable, streams, the drainage of the million and a quarter square miles of territory between the Appalachian and the Rocky mountains flows to the Gulf of Mexico. It reaches its heaviest concentration in the thousand-odd miles of the Mississippi below Cairo. That river-groove is large enough for the runoff most of the year, but when the volume is swollen by melting snows and heavy rains in the spring, the excess rolls over the banks into the flood-plain of alluvial deposits—or tries to. That flood-plain, thirty to forty thousand square miles in area, is the natural reservoir of the river system; but it is also the most fertile part of the Mississippi Valley, and when Western civilization staked its claims in the wilderness, it was the first to be occupied.

New Orleans' first levee—3 feet high and 5400 feet long—in 1727 began the greatest flood-control fight the world has ever known, more than two centuries of struggle to rebuild the river so the hydraulic pressures from 1900 miles of longitude and 1400 miles of latitude could be dissipated through the narrow channel of man's convenience instead of seeking the broad relief of nature's devising.

When the eighteenth century opened, it was physically impossible for more than a million cubic feet of water a second to pass down the lower river; but two centuries of increasing confinement

by levees more than doubled this—and the destructiveness of the drive.

By 1926 the levees on the lower river had risen from 3 feet to an average of 18, and there were 1815 miles of them. To build them, the people who lived behind the mile-wide flume which carried the river above the land in high-water periods, spent, up to the War Between the States, \$43,750,000; from Reconstruction to 1879, when the Mississippi River Commission was created to direct the fight, \$5,000,000; from then to 1926, \$170,000,000, during which period the Federal government spent \$129,000,000—total \$347,750,000.

Between 1735 and 1827 there were fifteen major floods in the lower river section; in the hundred years that followed, there were twenty-three. Nine times the river drove into New Orleans, not because the city's ramparts failed, but because breaks elsewhere admitted the enemy to the flanks.¹

Crevasse! The word which describes the frightful chasm into which nature's mighty stresses break glaciers, the people of the Lower Mississippi applied to the river when its destruction burst upon the land. It meant a rush of water which might be fifteen feet high and a hundred feet wide the first hour, four hundred the next, and half a mile the next day; and which hurled itself upon towns and plantations, to gouge vast cavities and carry destruction fifty miles a day; the current sweeping away everything in its immediate path, but losing its violence farther away in the placidity of a vast sea archipelagoed by tree tops and house roofs and beacons by factory chimneys.

Crevasse! The Christmas celebration was always the reminder

¹ Principal flood years from 1735 to 1927: 1735, 1770, 1775, 1782, 1785, 1791, 1796, 1799, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1815, 1816, 1823, 1824, 1828, 1844, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1858, 1859, 1862, 1865, 1867, 1871, 1874, 1882, 1884, 1890, 1892, 1893, 1897, 1903, 1912, 1913, 1922, 1927. The years in which New Orleans experienced river floods were 1735, 1775, 1785, 1791, 1799, 1813, 1816, 1840, 1849. The flood of 1816, breaking through the levee at Kenner, sixteen miles away, put so much water into New Orleans that boats plied Chartres, Dumaine, Bienville, Burgundy, St. Louis, and Rampart streets. That of 1840, breaking through the Sauvé levee, above Kenner, flooded 220 squares in New Orleans, drove 12,000 persons from their homes.

that the alarm might soon be heard. For soon the giant, sleeping in its deep bed, would awake, climb over its banks and claw at the levees. Close to the top! The countryside is alerted; shovels, wheelbarrows, and trucks are assembled, sacks are filled with earth from the near-by fields. Danger develops! Every man possible is rushed to that point. Day and 'night they labor at strengthening the defense. Their women make coffee and sandwiches, and pack household goods. No one leaves. Everybody fights—continues to fight even when the river breaks through, in the hope of keeping the crevasse from enlarging, so the women and children can get away with the few belongings they can save. Not until they see that the river is determined to take its own, do the men retire up and down the levees, long peninsulas in the spreading sea, to await the rescue boats, and the time when they can again struggle out of the mud, like the first emergent life on the primeval littoral.

The larger and stronger levees in the modern period reduced the number of crevasses from 284 in 1882 to 3 in 1922. As soon as certain sections, not yet brought up to grade and cross section, were completed, government engineers believed the system would be impregnable. But the river rolled heavier floods to the attack, with crests five to ten feet higher, because of confinement.

More than thirteen and a half inches of rain over the combined drainage areas of the Mississippi Valley in 1922 sent down 265,146 million cubic yards of water—a new record. The flood reached crest heights of 20.3 feet at Pittsburgh, 34 at St. Louis, 53.5 at Cairo, 42.3 at Memphis, and 22.3 at New Orleans. From March to June, it overflowed 13,200 square miles of land and destroyed \$17,087,790 of property.

In the last days of April, the levee broke at three places, all in Louisiana. At Ferriday, the crevasse was 3700 feet wide. The other two crevasses were below New Orleans, one at Myrtle Grove plantation, 22 miles from the city but on the opposite side of the river, the other at Poydras plantation, on the New Orleans side and only 14 miles from the city.

From 400 feet wide the first day—April 27—this last crevasse grew to a width of 1260 feet. It was 60 feet deep at the levee site. Through this gap flowed an immense torrent of water, which engulfed the narrow belt of relatively high land and escaped, over the marshes, to the sea a few miles away.

A fortunate calamity. No crevasse in recent history had struck so close to New Orleans. It was a stop-look-listen sign, which aroused the people of the nation to the fact that the Lower Valley was still fighting a life-and-death battle with the river. But more important was the immediate relief which the break gave to the overburdened river. Though a rise had been forecast, the crest dropped after this break.

While this flood was at its height, a group of Louisiana citizens organized the Safe River Committee of One Hundred, under the leadership of James M. Thomson, publisher of the *New Orleans Item*. That committee demanded, as the *Times-Picayune* had for years, the enlargement of the flood-control policy to include outlets, through which excess water could be discharged; the building of reservoirs on source streams so the water could be held back; and reforestation to retard the runoff.

Many engineers had said that levees alone could never make the river safe—from Charles Ellet, Jr., who in 1852 published the most comprehensive study of the problem ever made, to the present day; but they had no proof, and government engineers refused to depart from the traditional policy. The relief furnished by Poydras furnished that proof. The Poydras levee was rebuilt, but Louisiana removed, at its own expense in 1926, a long stretch of levee sixty miles below the city, on the east bank of the river, so the water could spill across the marshes to the sea. This cost the state \$1,000,000, and though it was too far downstream to be really effective, it at least kept alive the belief in outlets.

Supported by other national organizations, the Safe River Committee also demanded that the national government assume full responsibility, financial as well as engineering, for flood control.

No longer able to match government dollars in levee building, as required in the flood-control Act of March 1, 1917, the exhausted states subject to overflow could not hope to participate in the enormous program which 1922 showed was necessary. Besides, it was unfair to make a few states carry the drainage cost of 41 per cent of the territory of the United States, excluding Alaska.

Came 1927. Unusually heavy rains, and an early warm spell which melted a huge volume of snow, during the first four months of that year poured down nearly half as much water as the Mississippi channel can carry to the Gulf in a year.

Higher and higher rose the flood crest—36.1 feet at St. Louis, 46 at Memphis, 58.7 at Vicksburg, 47.8 at Baton Rouge, and 20.8 at New Orleans. Thousands toiled to keep the river from the land, but the levee walls were not strong enough to withstand the mighty thrust. The river broke through and broke through and broke through—the tallest and the broadest levees melted in that charge.

Panic rushed ahead of the boiling crest, and even New Orleans, lying behind the heaviest defenses in the Mississippi Valley, became the abode of terror. Greenville, Mississippi, almost wiped out; seventy-five squares in Little Rock, Arkansas, under water; the flood sweeping to New Iberia, Louisiana, two hundred miles from the river, never before reached by crevasse water. "For God's Sake Send Us Boats!" shouted Governor Dennis Murphree of Mississippi in an eight-column headline on Page 1 of the *Times-Picayune* on April 23.

New Orleans became hysterical. "Cut the levee at Poydras!" From a hundred miles away it brought in trainload after trainload of dirt and filled 640,000 sacks with which it raised the river fortifications still higher. "Cut the levee!" Hospitals laid in immense stores of provisions and evacuated the lower floors. In hundreds of back yards, skiffs testified to the panic. "Cut the levee!" The river was a foot higher than the street which was the top of the levee at the Canal street ferry landing. Business went to pieces. Why buy

anything today when tomorrow one might be a refugee? "Cut the levee!" The city engineers joined the general cry.²

The War Department gave permission. On April 26, Governor O. H. Simpson signed a "public emergency" proclamation, giving permission to dynamite the levee near the site of the 1922 break, at noon Friday, April 29. Guaranteed reimbursement for the loss of their property, the people of St. Bernard parish, who had stood guard-mount on their levees day and night since the beginning of the panic, put aside their arms and were evacuated to New Orleans, a pathetic procession—families and their household goods loaded upon creaking farm wagons and rattling automobiles, boys herding livestock and driving chickens, men and women and children riding through the hot dust, for summer was then warming up to its work.

The National Guard patrolled the approaches to the scene of the water-letting. No one was allowed within the lines unless he had an order signed and countersigned. To the "front" moved a tense throng on the morning of April 29—cabinet officers, city and state officials, army men, engineers, Association of Commerce bigwigs, authors, photographers, motion picture crews, reporters, and everybody else who could wangle a pass. By river, several boatloads of observers made the journey to watch the eventuations.

Into the levee sixty laborers dug and hacked holes large enough to enchain a ton of dynamite. They tamped it in, connected

² New Orleans, in 1927, had a flood, but it was from rain, not the river. On April 15—Good Friday—the skies poured down 14.1 inches of water, the record rainfall of twenty-four hours. During the storm, lightning struck one of the main cables of the drainage plant and several pumps went out. Canal street was a torrent, St. Charles avenue, from Audubon Park to Lee Circle, a broad stream, even the neutral ground covered, the water was two feet deep in the Vieux Carré, and six in the Broadmoor section, which was a lake in Bienville's day. Streetcars and automobiles were drowned, thousands of persons were marooned, without food, on the second floors of their homes. Sensational news reports and photographs which showed skiffs navigating main thoroughfares and automobiles with only their tops above the water made a large part of the United States believe that the Mississippi had breached the levee at New Orleans.

the fuses to the battery lead wire, and, while everybody held his breath and airplanes groaned overhead, awaited high noon.

Crack! About as loud as a small field piece. For several hundred feet, the levee vibrated, like a house when a heavy truck passes. There was an insignificant gush of earth. Three suspenseful minutes dripped by. Then a shout. Water! A tiny trickle appeared on the landward side of the levee, not enough to alarm a hen.

Four times more the laborers sweated in the sun, and placed other charges. By evening, they produced a gush of water ten feet wide and two or three deep.

Engineers worried at that levee for several days. They blasted it with two more tons of dynamite. Oh, the levees were strong—but the river was stronger. Finally, engineers opened a breach a thousand feet wide, and the river poured its yellow water upon the green marshes, driving the muskrats to the grass-covered rafts which the Department of Conservation had prepared to prevent the destruction of the fur industry. The river above New Orleans began to drop, and the city awoke from its panic, as from a bad dream. Again the outlet theory had been proved. That levee-cutting cost the city \$8,000,000, but it was money well spent.

Elsewhere on the river, the people could not buy security so cheaply. Through 225 breaks in the levee the river poured across 28,573 square miles of land, almost as much as it had taken in the days when there were no levees; it destroyed half a billion dollars of wealth, drowned a million and a half head of cattle, reduced more than 600,000 persons to destitution, and killed 250.³

It was the greatest peacetime disaster in the history of the nation. In a hundred and thirty-eight camps, the Red Cross fed, clothed, and ministered to the refugees. By August 13, the relief

³ Flood waters in 1927 covered 18,286,780 acres of land. Of this, 4,417,500 acres were in crop lands, distributed as follows: 1,839,400 in Arkansas, 1,112,200 in Louisiana, 861,900 in Mississippi, 359,000 in Missouri, 195,000 in Tennessee, 50,000 in Kentucky. About 2,600,000 acres were in cotton, 1,100,000 in corn, 360,000 in hay, 375,500 in other crops.

bill totaled \$16,852,724. As the waters receded, Federal and state agencies undertook the work of rehabilitation, which cost millions more.

Congress met while the disaster was still fresh in memory. Leaders in the flood-control movement moved on Washington. The *Times-Picayune* was in the van.

At its own expense it printed in the *Washington Star* and the *Washington Post* a series of full-page advertisements, while Congress was debating the problem, to present, in photograph and fact, the story of the disaster and of the disaster behind the disaster, the long impoverishment of the states on the river-stem, in the ever increasing struggle. Louisiana alone, it pointed out, spent \$63,000,000 on flood-control work in sixty years. "This Must Not Happen Again," said one typical headline. "The South Cannot Fight Alone," said another. Already the lower-river states had spent more than necessary to protect themselves from floods originating within their borders; now the United States must take over the job of protecting them from the floods of other states.

This series of advertisements cost several thousand dollars. It was one of the best investments in community service the *Times-Picayune* ever made, for on all sides it was credited with being a deciding factor in clearing up sectional misunderstandings, and in shaping national policy.

By the Act of May 15, 1928, the United States recognized Federal responsibility for flood-control. The engineering plan which President Coolidge adopted was the largest peacetime constructive measure in the history of the country; the revised plan of 1936 was still larger, increasing the appropriation from \$296,000,000 to \$332,000,000. It included stronger levees, artificial outlets from Missouri to Louisiana, increasing the capacity of the Atchafalaya, a natural outlet, reservoirs in source streams and cut-offs.

Twenty-three miles above New Orleans, the Bonnet Carré spillway was built in 1935. This is a controlled outlet, to be used in flood emergencies, for diverting a quarter of a million cubic feet of water

a second—nearly twice the flow of Niagara Falls—into the Gulf of Mexico via Lake Pontchartrain, eight miles away. The spillway is 8000 feet wide at the river end, 12,000 at the lake end. It consists of a concrete dam structure, with movable gates, and two lines of levees which make the channel for the water. It cost \$13,266,492.

The cut-off program was the most audacious attack on the river since Eads's jetties. A cutoff is a new and shorter channel through a peninsula formed by the twisting current. In flood, the Mississippi had often found this relief, which engineers had tried to prevent, believing that cutoffs introduced abnormal slopes both upstream and downstream. Brigadier General Harley Bascom Ferguson, United States Army engineer and president of the Mississippi River Commission, after an exhaustive study of hydraulic forces in the river, discarded this theory, and drove eleven cutoffs through the tangled nest of river bends from Arkansas City to Natchez. The river itself added the twelfth. Ferguson opened the first cutoff January 8, 1933. It is twelve miles below Vicksburg. It took him five years to complete the program, which cost \$25,000,000. The cutoffs shorten the Mississippi by a hundred miles, and speed the flood water to the Gulf of Mexico, thereby removing the peril from the land that much sooner.

Before the flood-control system was completed, it received a severe test in 1936, when the simultaneous rise of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers which form the Ohio, poured muddy, foaming water into the Golden Triangle of Pittsburgh, turning theaters into swimming pools with 20-foot diving depths, and climbed to 52.8 feet on the gauge at Cairo. As far down as Helena, Arkansas, the Mississippi passed flood heights, but below there the menace was lost in the rapid runoff, so that at New Orleans the gauge-reading was only 14.4 feet, which was 2.6 feet below flood stage. The system received a severer test next year.

Between January 1 and 25, 1937, rains dumped sixty million tons of water into the Ohio drainage valley from the Mississippi to West Virginia. Swollen with the downpours on an area 100 miles

wide by 550 long, the Ohio put 18 square miles of Cincinnati under water, flooded out three fourths of Louisville and would have overwhelmed Cairo had not the army engineers opened the Bird's Point-New Madrid floodway which took the strain off the city's 60-foot seawall almost in the moment of collapse. By 10 to 20 feet, the Ohio topped the flood stages which had been the rosary of suffering. At Cairo the flood reached a height of 59.6 feet on February 3, and poured the greatest volume of water ever recorded into the Mississippi, 2,024,000 cubic feet a second, 410,000 more than in 1927. Down the Mississippi rolled as great a flood as that of 1927. At Memphis the peak flow was 2,020,000 cubic feet a second, as compared with 1,750,000 in 1927; at New Orleans, 1,200,000 as compared with 1,360,000.

Yet this flood, which destroyed half a billion dollars' worth of property, drove nearly a million persons from their homes, and killed four hundred, did not roll over as much land as that of 1927, for not a levee on the main river below Cairo broke. Its progress speeded to the sea by the cutoffs—eight days to travel the distance which, under 1927 conditions, could not have been passed under twenty—the water did not pile up in the long and deep and broad channel of the lower river. Like a well-ordered parade, it moved between the strengthened levees, 490,000 cubic feet of each second's flow entering the Atchafalaya, 210,000 the Bonnet Carré spillway, the rest down the main channel. Each 60,000 second feet that passed through Bonnet Carré lowered the river height at New Orleans one foot; the maximum gauge reading there was 19.3 feet.

When the United States recognized Federal responsibility for flood control, it guaranteed the safety, not only of New Orleans, but also of the farms, plantations, industries, villages and cities up and down the restless river. It removed the great fear, and opened a new economic era for a section in which capital had not been willing to make impressive investment because of the danger of flood. The Association of Commerce broke out a \$400,000 cam-

paign to spread, in leading national publications, the advantages of New Orleans and Louisiana. Despite the depression of the 1930's, the new promise has already been realized in many directions; and the larger movement awaits the green light.

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Expansion

TO THE BOOM conditions of the 1920 decade, the *Times-Picayune* responded like Prometheus unbound.

Leonard K. Nicholson was elected to the presidency of the company December 9, 1918. He succeeded Ashton Phelps, who retired because of failing health and died December 12, 1919. Under Mr. Nicholson, the control of the newspaper was taken from the hands of the manager, who had more power than the president, and placed with the board of directors, whose policies the president, elected by its vote, effectuated.¹

Increased operating costs forced the newspaper to increase its circulation rates, November 18, 1919, from 15 cents, 65 cents, and \$7.80 a week, month, and year, respectively, to 20 cents, 90 cents, and \$10.40. By the end of the year, it was printing twenty to twenty-four pages on weekdays and eighty on Sundays. Christmas business on December 14 evoked its first hundred-page issue.

The *Times-Picayune*, on June 21, 1919, announced the awarding of the contract for its new home, facing Lafayette Square. It held

¹ Under the charter, drawn in the spirit of the old Times-Democrat Company, the general manager was elected by the stockholders. D. D. Moore, who held that position, resigned in 1922 and became publisher of the Fort Worth *Record*, subsequently merged with the *Star-Telegram*. Mr. Nicholson, on November 27 of that year, was elected general manager to succeed him. He resigned as president (temporarily succeeded by G. B. Baldwin), until the charter could be amended at a stockholders' meeting to eliminate the office of general manager; and was re-elected president January 25, 1923.

the cornerstone ceremonies September 24. Construction had not advanced far enough for placing the stone, but the Associated Advertising Clubs of the World was holding its annual convention in New Orleans at the time, and wished to include this symbolism in the convention program; and so a temporary section of wall was built upon the speaker's platform for the purpose. President W. C. D'Arcy of the A.A.C. conducted the ceremony. Mayor Martin Behrman and a large number of Orleanians, as well as convention delegates, attended; and, of course, company officials and department heads of the newspaper. Containing a map of the city, convention badges, that day's issue of the *Times-Picayune*, and convention audits, the cornerstone was subsequently incorporated in the building.

The building occupied a site 150 by 85 feet, and contained, in its four stories and basement, 75,000 square feet of floor space—a handsome structure of tapestry brick and concrete, with an iron-grille balcony suggestive of the Vieux Carré. With equipment, it cost \$1,000,000.

While the machinery was being installed, the *Times-Picayune* used the plant of the *New Orleans States*.

The housewarming was held November 8, 1920. Responding to the open invitation printed the day before, thousands of Orleanians poured through the structure between noon and midnight. They were conducted through the plant by staff members, who descanted upon the beauty of design, not only from an architectural standpoint but also for efficiency in newspaper publication, and pointed with pride to the new Hoe press, which had a capacity of 80,000 sixteen-page papers an hour. The Elks band gave a concert. The New Home issue of November 8 contained a hundred pages.

That seemed to start the growth. The increase is dramatically shown by a glance at the bound volumes of those years. When the decade opened, the volumes containing one month's issue were about an inch and a half thick; when it closed, they were three inches thick. In February, 1920, weekday issues ran to twenty

pages, those of Sunday to seventy-two; by December, 1926, the year of heaviest business, they had grown to forty-four and a hundred and fifty, respectively.

With increase in size went enlarged and better coverage—more news, local, national and international; more features, more special articles. From February 18, 1923, to December 20, 1931, the *Times-Picayune* issued a rotogravure section; it discontinued this, selling its expensive equipment, because of a new and better development, color work, which the publication has stressed since that time.

In 1914, the year of the merger, the circulation was, in round numbers, 70,000, according to an editorial statement of October 13. This grew to 74,000 daily and 91,000 Sunday in 1920, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation; by 1930 the circulation increased to 100,000 daily and 139,000 Sunday. The A.B.C. gave the *Item* 65,000 daily and 86,000 Sunday in 1920, and 67,000 daily and 85,000 Sunday in 1930; the *New Orleans States* 39,000 daily and 37,000 Sunday in 1920, and 50,000 daily and 91,000 Sunday in 1930; the *Morning Tribune* 29,000 daily in 1925, and 47,000 in 1930.²

Of advertising, the *Times-Picayune* printed 15,523,177 lines in 1921. There are fourteen agate lines to the inch, three hundred to the column. The year of largest business—1926—yielded 19,860,920 lines. The next three years yielded more than 18,000,000 each. From 18,806,653 lines in 1929, the year the collapsing Stock Market ushered in the depression, the total dropped in 1930 to 17,041,961. In the other newspapers, the totals were: *Item*, 11,131,563 in 1921, the high point, 9,047,820 in 1930; *States*, 7,112,096 in 1921, 9,787,445 in 1926, and 7,287,223 in 1930; *Tribune*, 6,186,978 in 1925, and 5,270,718 in 1930.

In June, 1924, the Times-Picayune Publishing Company issued a 100 per cent stock dividend. In April of that year, it paid a \$5

² The *Morning Tribune* was published by The New Orleans Item Company from December 16, 1924, to January 11, 1941. On Sundays, it was incorporated with the *Item* as the *Item-Tribune*. It began as a standard-size paper, became a tabloid May 11, 1936.

dividend on seven thousand shares. In June it paid \$4 on fourteen thousand, in October \$4, and in December \$4. Its total yearly dividends increased from \$42,000 in 1920 to \$336,000 in 1929. In 1930 they were \$224,000.

More for sentiment than any other reason, the *Times-Picayune* bought the *Bee* (*L'Abeille*) July 12, 1920. Founded in 1827, that newspaper had enjoyed a brilliant career. Its usefulness long since ended, it had been steadily going downward, and when the state in 1914 rescinded the law requiring certain legal publications to be made in French, its principal source of revenue was ended. The *Times-Picayune* discontinued publication of the *Bee* in December, 1923, and became the oldest newspaper in New Orleans.

To signalize its ninetieth anniversary, the *Times-Picayune*, in 1926, established a department of journalism in Tulane University, with a gift of \$6000 a year for ten years; when that period expired, it renewed the gift. Many graduates of the school have found positions on the newspaper.

Crash

SEVERAL large blocks of securities were offered, on the New York Stock Exchange, at 11 A.M. Thursday, October 24, 1929—and no one wanted to buy. That pulled the plug out of the market, and precipitated “the most terrifying stampede of selling ever experienced,” reported the Associated Press. The uproar on the Exchange was heard blocks away, extra police were sent to Wall street to control the crowds, as blocks of a thousand to a hundred and fifty thousand shares were thrown into the maelstrom, and values of even the blue-chip issues were slashed \$15 to \$70 a share. At the height of the panic, Thomas W. Lamont, senior partner in the House of Morgan, organized a consortium of bankers who pledged \$240,000,000 to support “values.” When one of its brokers offered \$205 for 25,000 shares of United States Steel, which had been selling for 193½, the Market responded hopefully. Steel closed at 206, American Can recovered from 245 to 269, General Electric from 283 to 308, and hundreds of other issues won back \$2 to \$12 of their losses. Sales on the Exchange totaled 12,894,680 shares, and on the Curb 6,148,300—new records.

Only a “technical reaction,” said Lamont; no “economic basis” for the flurry, said Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, the financial seer of the Cleveland Trust Company; “business is fundamentally sound,” said the Treasury Department; “production and distribution of commodities is on a sound and prosperous basis,” said President

Hoover. The country rang with praise of the consortium—"saviors of the Market."

Upon the rising confidence those bankers quietly unloaded all their holdings, and the real debacle began Monday, October 28, swelled to record-breaking intensity the next day with sales of 16,410,000 shares on the Exchange and 7,096,300 on the Curb, and continued until November 14, selling wave after selling wave. The Exchange closed November 1 and 2, and restricted trading from then to the fourteenth to three hours a day. Early in 1930 there was a feeble rally, but it soon petered out.

The *Times-Picayune* conservatively reported the crash of the eight-year bull market under a three-column headline on Page 1.

That bull movement began, in 1921, at about the 1914 averages, to which the sensational collapse in commodities carried it when they dropped, in one year, from the index figure of 170 to 90. Industrial production increased, thanks to "installment buying," which mortgaged the earnings of consumers far into the future; but commodities continued to drop, and in twelve years the index would go to 60. When industrial production began to flatten out, stocks made their most breath-taking advance, under the stimulus of the cheap and copious money which the Federal Reserve Banking System made available, as shown by the increase in brokers' loans from \$3,300,000,000 in mid-1927 to \$8,500,000,000 in the latter part of 1929: paper speculation increasing 150 per cent in New York while bank loans throughout the United States for all other purposes increased only 30 to 40 per cent.

Stock sales on the New York Exchange swelled from 449,000,000 shares in 1926 to 920,000,000 in 1928, an all-time high. In reckless and increasing abundance, new securities were thrown upon the market; their volume increased from a few hundred millions a year in face value to \$2,200,000,000 during the first nine months of 1929, all of which had been taken by the public, or at least that was the supposition in those blind times.

Even the renewed collapse of 1930 did not convince the country

that economic values were reasserting themselves over inflated paper.

Infatuated experts said there was no reason to worry, for only ten million in a population of a hundred and twenty million had been involved in the Market; financial pooh-bahs urged there was as much money as there had ever been, and everything would be lovely as soon as those who had it would invest; President Hoover, in his address on May Day, 1930, to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, spoke of a "survey" to determine on the measures to support business, while insisting that confidence had been maintained and that the fundamentals were solid.

Still the Market went down. It seemed to have been waiting for the Hoover cue really to explore low territory. The drop before then was as nothing to the new plunge. United States Steel, which had been as high as $261\frac{3}{4}$ in 1929, dropped in 1932 to $21\frac{1}{4}$; American Telephone and Telegraph from $310\frac{1}{4}$ to $70\frac{1}{4}$; American Can from $184\frac{1}{2}$ to $29\frac{5}{8}$; and General Electric from $100\frac{3}{4}$ to the equivalent (split four for one) of 34. Averages in that bottom year, 1932, returned to the 1914 level.

Stock Market losses through 1929 totaled \$15,000,000,000; losses by the end of 1932 totaled \$50,000,000,000, according to testimony before a United States Senate Committee.

Created by the bill of June 15, 1929, the Farm Board had organized the cotton and wheat co-operatives into national marketing corporations before the October crash. It immediately authorized loans on and purchases of these commodities at cushioning prices. Wheat slowly dropped from \$1.29 a bushel, on October 24, to \$1.05 at the end of May, 1930; cotton from 17.84 cents a pound to 15 cents. Most of the previous year's crops were sold on that relatively happy basis.

From that point, these and other commodities and the industrial index steadily worked downward, until by 1934 they were at 1914 levels or lower. Then they turned upward. Their recoveries carried stocks, with many fluctuations, more than half-way back, but

again they receded, and paper speculation lost most of its gain, not even helped by the increase in industrial production which in 1940 passed the 1929 peak.

One by one the professors and the economists stopped blowing soap bubbles and explained why such eventuations had come to pass. This was not a panic in the classical sense, and for that reason it had not run true to the thirty-month duration theory, on which they had expounded so convincingly. Wherein lay the difference? The United States had entered the war a debtor nation and had emerged a creditor nation. No longer was the world eager to take the heavy exports of this country to meet foreign debts and pay for foreign purchases. Moreover, the United States, instead of encouraging a two-way trade, erected a tariff wall against imports. Because of the heavy loans this country made abroad, the effect of this did not make itself immediately felt. Foreign nations spent their borrowings in this country. But when the United States tapered off its loans, the folly of the Hawley-Smoot tariff of 1930, raising the trade barrier 20 per cent, made itself felt.

It was the most crashing economic readjustment in the history of the United States, with national income dropping, in less than three years, from 81 billion dollars to 39, and unemployment increasing from 2,860,000 to 17,920,000, according to an estimate by National Research League. Therefore it was called a depression. A word might cushion the shock, if a consortium could not.

Depression

NEW ORLEANS' population rose to 458,762 in 1930, and Louisiana's to 2,101,593. These were increases, respectively, of 18 and 17 per cent for the decade, as compared with the 16 per cent increase in the United States to 122,775,046. But by the time the census figures were published, no one cared to point with pride—everybody was viewing with alarm the deepening gloom of the depression. It was no relief when technocracy erupted upon public thought with such revelations as "In pig iron production, one man working one hour can do what it took him 650 hours to accomplish 50 years ago," and envisioned a social order based on ergs, kilowatts, and calories. Fortunately, Columbia University withdrew its support before the Communistic implications of this silly attack on machinery made serious inroads, and the people returned to the less inflaming fad of crossword puzzles.¹

Two months after the crash New Orleans' bank deposits dropped to \$251,204,473, as of December 31, 1929, nearly thirteen and three-quarter millions less than the 1928 total, and eight millions less than the 1927. Throughout the state the losses were not

¹ Howard Scott, engineer, who began to work on the "thermodynamic interpretation of social phenomena" in 1920, was the father of technocracy. Columbia University set him and his engineers—magic word!—to compiling charts and drawing conclusions. From time to time, there were rumblings of revelations soon to be. The *New Outlook* for November, 1932, tossed the technocratic bauble into the waiting world. Columbia University cleaned house in 1933.

so great, about 4 per cent. The city's port business—foreign and coastwise—dropped, and would continue to drop from the thirteen-million-ton high of 1929 to eight million in 1932, the lowest in more than a decade; but always slower than the more industrialized sections to feel, for better or for worse, economic changes, neither New Orleans nor Louisiana began to experience the full fury of the depression—in joblessness—until 1930, late in the year. Curiously enough, part of the state enjoyed, at this time, a relative boom, as sugar production, ending a twenty-year downward drift, achieved increasing bounty.

New York's Bank of the United States closed December 11, 1930, a shocking exposure of weakness. England on September 21, 1931, suspended the gold standard; Denmark, Finland, and Japan quickly followed suit; and on June 5, 1933, the United States did likewise.

Private citizens, early in 1931, organized the New Orleans Welfare Department, which for two years struggled with the increasing unemployment with direct relief and such made work as a woodyard and paving an outlying street with tin cans. Its funds came from private contributions, a \$50,000 race-track benefit, a 10 per cent salary cut of city and state employees in New Orleans which yielded \$100,000, and an \$850,000 bond issue, voted in 1932. There was grim humor in the transfer of nearly seven million dollars in silver coin, on June 4, 1931, from the old mint at Esplanade avenue and North Peters street, which was to be converted into a Federal prison, to the new \$75,000 vault in the customhouse; and in the discovery that the Federal Reserve banks of Houston and St. Louis had failed to count \$1.50 in their shipments.

By then, many Orleanians were selling heirlooms to the United States assayer's office in the customhouse, for their gold and silver content, but in other parts of the country conditions were even more desperate.

Denied work in their own communities, hordes wandered over the land seeking a living—first men, then entire families, who

climbed aboard freight trains, overwhelming the resistance of train crews, thumbed rides in automobiles, or patiently trudged along the highways. They begged their food as they went, and when it was denied them, they stole. Ministers in the pulpit said it was no sin to steal when one was hungry and could not find work. The title of a book, *Revolution or Jobs*, reflected the dangerous drift of the times.

There were so many bank robberies that the newspapers could have opened a new department. For Louisiana and Mississippi alone, the card index in the *Times-Picayune's* library lists seventy-seven from January 1, 1929, to September 1, 1933—twenty-nine of them in New Orleans, where insurance rates went up 200 per cent. The "take" ran from \$500 to \$26,000. Throughout the country, there were thousands of such robberies, which totaled millions of dollars; and a radio commentator of the period introduced all such reportings with "More money in circulation," expressive of the increasing contempt for bankers and all their works.

To prevent a social breakdown, President Hoover, in the last months of his administration, adopted a modified form of the dole, then operating in England; for the weed-cutting, street-sweeping, and road-grading projects of his program were only excuses to pass out money. On a state-wide basis, the Unemployment Relief Committee was erected in Louisiana in July, 1932, with A. G. Newmyer, business manager of the *New Orleans Item*, as its chairman. This was reorganized as the Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration which was later modified to the Work Projects Administration. Except in May, 1933, when the administration of relief was professionalized, the personnel setup was unchanged; but each reorganization brought an enlarged scope of operation, and better and more lasting public works, as the nation gradually swung to the belief that economic security is a logical function of government, not a public charity. To this belief, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's campaign for the "forgotten man," both be-

fore and after his election, contributed enormously. At first restricted to manual labor, operations were broadened to include machinery and the purchase of materials to build schools and other public buildings, streets, highways, and drainage, sewerage, and water-supply systems. And a place was made for white-collar workers—writers, artists, actors, musicians, teachers, engineers.

Unemployment reached its peak in March, 1933, when, according to the Bureau of Statistics, United States Department of Labor, only 55.1 per cent of the normal in gainful employment, taking 1926 as the base, was at work. On October 22, 1934, the *United States News* published statistics showing that 16,965,841 persons were on relief; of these, 227,388, or 11 per cent of the state's population, were in Louisiana.

Federal spendings in Louisiana, during the winter of 1932-33, passed \$7,950,000; during the next three years, they passed \$48,464,000; during the next three, through 1939, they passed \$102,626,000—more than half in New Orleans.

During the same years another agency, the Public Works Administration, helped unemployment by outright grants and by financing self-liquidating projects of a public nature. From 1933 to 1936, it put under way \$13,002,333 of construction throughout the state.²

Japan began its undeclared war on China, January 27, 1932; the Lindbergh baby was kidnaped March 1; and three-cent letter postage returned July 6, to be modified a year later by a two-cent rate for local deliveries.

² In money spent, the 1933-34 peak (Civil Works Administration) was below the 1938-39 peak (Work Projects Administration). In the former period, the spending went slightly above \$300,000,000; in the latter, above \$350,000,000. The Federal dole ended November 29, 1935. It totaled \$3,694,000,000. From its creation in April, 1935, to June 30, 1940, the Work Projects Administration spent \$8,254,491,000, Federal funds alone. Contributions by local sponsors swelled the total. The Public Works Administration, from organization in 1933 to July 1, 1940, made allotments of \$4,105,277,337. United States Grants to Public Assistance, for the relief of old persons, dependent children, and the blind, from January, 1933, to December, 1939, totaled \$19,495,899,000. The total for the fiscal year 1939-40 was \$283,420,478, of which \$4,136,634 went to Louisiana.

Bank deposits of New Orleans at the end of 1932 totaled \$216,779,849. Even deducting the \$13,000,000 recently placed on deposit, by the Federal government, for building the bridge across the Mississippi, this was better than the \$203,121,272 at the end of 1931. Only eight banks had failed in Louisiana—deposits \$1,654,321, as compared with 4835 throughout the United States—deposits \$3,263,049,000.

But in February, 1933, a run on the Hibernia Bank and Trust Company of New Orleans was precipitated by Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York and his unjust charges.³ It threatened to become general. To give the Reconstruction Finance Corporation time to rush supporting funds to the city, Governor O. K. Allen decided to celebrate the "far-reaching principles" to which President Wilson had pointed the country sixteen years before when he severed diplomatic relations with Germany, and he declared Saturday, February 4, a state holiday, which automatically closed all banks. The run was stopped.

Ten days later, the governor of Michigan declared a bank holiday, to save the tottering financial institutions of that state; Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Nevada, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi quickly followed his lead. This reduced confidence in all banks to the vanishing point, besides precipitating heavy withdrawals, as hoarding reached a new frenzy. A few minutes before leaving New Orleans for the Roosevelt inauguration, Governor Allen declared a three-day bank holiday for Louisiana, beginning March 2.

Acting Governor John B. Fournet extended it to March 6 when the Federal Reserve Board declared a holiday through that date for all member institutions.

³ Union Indemnity interests of New Orleans, in financial difficulties, had asked for a Reconstruction Finance Corporation loan. Fish charged that Rudolf S. Hecht, chairman of the advisory committee, approved the loan so the Hibernia bank, of which he was president, might benefit. Hecht showed that he had recused himself and that the Hibernia had received not one dollar on its loan. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation announced it would put as much as \$20,000,000 behind the Hibernia.

Barely had the country recovered from this shock when President Roosevelt, less than thirty-six hours after taking the oath of office, embargoed the export of gold and silver and declared a general four-day bank holiday. Denouncing bankers as "incompetent or dishonest," he almost immediately announced that no bank would be allowed to open until it proved its soundness.

Hardly anybody—except the hoarders—had enough currency in pocket to meet their daily needs. Grocers stretched credit to the limit to fill immediate subsistence needs; lacking cash to pay for gasoline, many persons left their cars in the garages; the New Orleans Public Service Inc., sold streetcar checks on credit. Nearly every business house paid its employees with orders, but the *Times-Picayune*, converting \$100,000 of Liberty Bonds into currency at the Federal Reserve, continued to meet its weekly pay roll—nearly \$15,000—in cash and on time.

For a time, it was believed that scrip currency would be issued by the banks, as during the collapse of 1907; but the speedy restoration of the nation's financial system, with speculation fantastics eliminated, made this unnecessary.

Two New Orleans banks reopened Tuesday, March 14, under license by Secretary of the Treasury William H. Woodin—the Whitney National and the American. So did four other banks in Louisiana—Baton Rouge's National, and Shreveport's Commercial-National, Continental-American, and First National; and six Mississippi banks. Five New Orleans banks went into liquidation—the Canal, Hibernia, Morris Plan, Continental, and Interstate, and froze some \$60,000,000 of deposits.

By the end of March, most of the 144 state banks of Louisiana, not members of the Federal Reserve, were open on an unrestricted basis. Their resources as of June 30 totaled \$140,241,840, as compared with \$159,926,944 for the 185 on September 30, 1929.⁴

⁴ Forty-two state banks in Louisiana went into liquidation, according to the State Department of Banking. By 1941 they had paid as high as 90 and even 100 per cent of the deposits. Five of them paid nothing.

In New Orleans, Whitney Trust was merged with Whitney National, to form an institution with \$7,000,000 capital, surplus, and undivided profits. The Hibernia National and the National Bank of Commerce, rising from the ashes of the old Hibernia and Canal, were opened May 22, with capital and surplus of \$3,000,000 each, and 43 and 30 per cent, respectively, of the deposits of the old institutions available. The Louisiana Savings was opened October 4 with a capital and surplus of \$200,000.

From that new beginning, Louisiana's banks—state and national—entered upon a sound development, and were admitted to deposit insurance by the Federal government in 1934.⁵

Their 8 billion dollars of assets threatened by the same speculative day-dreaming which proved the undoing of the banks, the homestead, or building and loan, associations throughout the United States reorganized themselves to realities. Louisiana's institutions, with the others, had departed from the safe principles under which the system had been operating since 1873, and had contributed to the incredible real estate boom by inflated loans, as shown in the increase in their assets from 40 million dollars in 1920 to 150 million in 1930. Even in the face of increasing repossessions and failing business, they continued to pay dividends.

Under the austere regulations of the Home Loan Bank System and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, agencies created by the government to stabilize property values, they wrote down appraisals, liquidated foreclosures, and built a new market. They put in every possible economy of operation, and the stronger absorbed the weaker.

By 1935 Louisiana's homesteads were qualifying for the Federal insurance of \$5000 on each savings account. Four in Baton Rouge were the first to be admitted to that guarantee by the Federal Savings and Loan Corporation, as the *Times-Picayune* announced on March 8. On August 7 thirteen in New Orleans were admitted to

⁵ New Orleans banks, at the end of 1940, reported deposits of \$311,661,147, the largest on record.

this protection. One by one, others were admitted into the system, and returning investment and increasing business made it possible to resume dividend paying, though not on so large a basis as formerly, 3 to 3½ per cent as compared with 6 and 7 per cent.⁶

The desperate need of the times forced through the soldiers' bonus, as the payment "to those who had fought in World War I was called. The American Legion began to agitate for this in 1922, the year it held its convention in New Orleans (in November). Harding vetoed the bill which Congress passed—"The nation breathes easier," said the *Times-Picayune* September 21. In 1925 Coolidge vetoed a bill appropriating \$100,000,000 a year for twenty years to underwrite insurance policies on the men, on the ground that "Patriotism which is bought and paid for is not patriotism," and Congress passed the bill over his veto. "This newspaper has opposed bonus consistently and on principle," said the *Times-Picayune* on May 5. "We regret the bill's passage." The men were not satisfied—they demanded cash. Over Hoover's veto, Congress in 1931 passed a bill to pay them, on demand, half the turn-in value of the policies—an average of \$500. Next year, some 12,000 ex-soldiers from many parts of the country—400 from New Orleans—hitch-hiked to Washington, a pressure group to force payment of the other half. They created such a turbulent situation in the na-

⁶ By 1940 New Orleans had 32 homesteads, as compared with more than 50 in 1929. In other parts of the state, there were 28. Assets in New Orleans were nearly \$57,500,000, in other parts of Louisiana nearly \$21,000,000. Homestead assets of the nation were stabilized at about \$5,000,000,000. Louisiana's homesteads in 1940 had about 100,000 members, with pooled resources of more than \$61,000,000. Said the *New Orleans States*, January 18, 1940: "Of the soundness of the homestead idea, one has only to review the dreadful days which followed the financial crash of 1929 for proof. Business houses, believed unshakable, toppled and fell; banks exploded like soap bubbles; all values seemed to be written in disappearing ink. The disappearance of money and credit destroyed the market for real estate, the only collateral of the homesteads; but the homesteads survived the ordeal. They were battered, they were shaken, they were torn and bent and twisted, but they were not destroyed. The trial was a benefit to them and the people, in the long run, because it exposed weaknesses in operating methods (due, not to the unsoundness of the underlying principle, but to the human weakness of those entrusted with the administration), and from this knowledge a new security has come to the homesteads,"

tion's capital that Congress on July 7 appropriated \$100,000 for their transportation home, and a few weeks later voted the measure. Total payments reached 3¾ billion dollars, of which nearly 7 million went to Louisiana.⁷

When the depression was at its height, New Orleans enjoyed a "celebration such as seldom is witnessed," in the recording of the *Times-Picayune*, "in this capital of Carnival."

Only the Armistice of 1918 topped the outburst of joy when thirteen years of yeasty home-brew ended at noon on April 13, 1933, in 3.2 per cent beer.

Whistles—every whistle in the city, judging by the volume of sound—proclaimed the exact second of the release, and immediately three hundred trucks and several hundred automobiles, laden with the precious freight, clashed into high gear.

The city took holiday; the American Legion paraded in uniform; the Board of Trade suspended business; the Cotton Exchange staged a beer party. Whistles, bands, and shouts! Backslapping crowds surged through the streets, singing multitudes shoe-horned themselves into the 911 retail establishments which had been licensed (revenue to the city \$40,940) to sell beer for 15 cents a bottle, and at the spigot a seventeen-ounce glass for ten cents and an eight-ounce glass for five cents.

New Orleans' three breweries poured out half a million gallons of beer; carloads and trainloads of beer from Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other parts of the country swelled the supply. A new and more highly colored edition of "Custer's Last Stand" added its traditional thrill above the broad mirrors of the bars. Bootleg liquor which had been \$40 to \$60 a case, dropped to \$15.

The ending of prohibition on Tuesday, December 5, was anticlimax. For that celebration, New Orleans prepared with fifty thousand gallons of bonded whisky, eighty thousand gallons of domestic wines and a large volume of imported vintages—whisky

⁷ As of June 30, 1940, service and ex-service men and women were carrying 608,923 government life insurance policies totaling \$2,564,984,223.

10 to 45 cents a drink, depending on the swank of the bar, bottled goods \$2.50 a quart, California claret \$2 a quart and champagne \$10. But there was small business. The principal excitement was in the newspapers, over the dramatic swing of Utah—stronghold of the bone-drys—into the repeal column, the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Twenty-first Amendment.

The reason for this calmness was that beer's alcoholic content had been increased almost to 6 per cent, and also the speakeasies, anticipating repeal, had for months been selling hard liquor openly.

Reopening the brewing and distilling industries, the abandonment of the noble experiment created jobs for tens of thousands of persons and poured millions of revenue into the government treasury. It was one of the large factors in the economic recovery which began that year.

In 1933 the government called in all the gold coin, besides outlawing the gold-paying clause in all monies, and began to buy gold above the market price in order to sustain commodity values. Against only one man in New Orleans was it necessary to invoke the arrest-penalty for hoarding gold, and his offense totaled only \$625. Next year, the government devalued the dollar to 59.06 per cent of the par established by the 1900 Act, and fixed the price of gold at \$35 an ounce, as compared with \$20.67 at the time of the bank holiday. It also prohibited silver exports. The new price stimulated gold production throughout the world; and continuing to buy all that was offered, by the end of 1940 the United States owned \$22,000,000,000 of gold as compared with \$4,000,000,000 before devaluation. This made it possible to float huge Treasury issues for financing deficits, thereby raising the national debt to \$45,000,000,000 exclusive of government-guarantee obligations, several billion more.

To stabilize business and industry through fairer conceptions of employment and competition, the government in 1933 passed the National Industrial Recovery Act; and to regulate farm production and support prices by processing taxes, it passed the Agricultural

Adjustment Act. Firms complying with the former were put under the sign of the Blue Eagle, and the forty-year-old copper eagle which had lorded it so many years above the old Picayune building emerged from its exile in the lumber room and appeared upon the *Times-Picayune's* balcony, grasping in its claws the cog wheel and branched lightning, which symbolized restored industry. The agricultural measure came at the height of state bans on mortgage foreclosure on farms and homes. These laws were nullified by the Supreme Court in 1935 and 1936, and new measures were developed, but the copper eagle had no place in them and retired to the inner darkness of the storeroom.

In 1934 drouth and dust storms destroyed the crops of enormous areas in the Middle West, and showed that the soil itself had lost the power to produce, under the methods which had wasted so much of the good earth in this broad land; and in that same year, Adolph Hitler became the supreme head of Germany, but few believed that in five years he would launch World War II, though Italy's conquest of Ethiopia in 1935, Spain's Civil War in 1936, and the resignation of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden from the British Cabinet in 1939 because of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's methods of seeking settlements with Germany and Italy, made the more thoughtful realize that more calamities were on the way.

States

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE Publishing Company purchased the *New Orleans States* July 17, 1933—four months after the bank collapse—and through it entered the afternoon field, thereby increasing its dominance in its territory.

In its Page 1 announcement the next morning, the *Times-Picayune* said:

“By acquirement of this powerful and highly honored afternoon contemporary, the *Times-Picayune* feels that it has increased its opportunity of useful service to New Orleans, Louisiana and the nation. The increased obligations to the public and the public interest that go therewith are recognized and will be scrupulously fulfilled. From the union of the two newspapers famed for fearlessness, independence and journalistic enterprise, we hope to give the people of the city, state and section a finer 24-hour news service than they have enjoyed heretofore. And we pledge the staunch and constant service of both newspapers to the steady and loyal support of all causes and undertakings promotive of the prosperity, civic welfare and political freedom of city and state and nation.”

The *Daily States* was launched January 3, 1880, a four-page, six-column paper which issued six days a week.¹ Major Henry J.

¹ The paper was so named because *States* “expresses the political theory of the paper. It is national, because it recognizes the whole Union; at the same time it antagonizes the idea of centralization, which seems, unfortunately, to have seized even upon many Democratic journals.” *Daily States* editorial, January 3, 1880.

Hearsey, its creator, was a native of Louisiana, who had fought his way up from the ranks during the War Between the States; had revived the old *News* of Shreveport in 1870; had become editor of the *New Orleans Democrat* in 1876; and had gone down with that newspaper in the lottery fight of 1879. He re-entered the newspaper business with a capital of \$2250. He had no plant, but had the paper printed in a job shop on the second floor of the auction mart which occupied the site of the Dameron-Pierson building at Magazine street and Natchez. He had only the sketchiest kind of office next to the job shop with its hand-cranked cylinder press.

Dedicated to the cause of the plain people, fighting for the rights of labor, and campaigning for reform, the *Daily States* leaped into instant popularity. Before it was a year old, it pushed circulation to 6500, and added a Sunday issue. It bought a plant and steadily enlarged it.

When he died October 31, 1900, his confreres paid tribute to Hearsey as "Louisiana's most distinguished journalist."

He was succeeded by Robert Ewing, a telegraph operator from Mobile, who had been telegraph editor on the *Daily States* in 1892, circulation manager in 1893, assistant business manager in 1895, and business manager in 1898. Ewing became a power in city and state politics, and showed himself a newspaper creator of rare ability. He renamed the paper the *New Orleans States*, to integrate it more clearly with the community; and, hewing to the popular cause, greatly increased the size while he raised the circulation to 52,713, in 1927, and the advertising lineage to 9,787,445, in 1926. He also bought and developed the Shreveport *Times*, and the *Morning World* and *News-Star* of Monroe.

His right-hand man, in the latter part of his career, was J. Walker Ross. Born in Gretna, Louisiana, February 22, 1868, and educated in the public schools and Tulane University, Ross entered the newspaper as proofreader in 1885, when he was seventeen; became a reporter a few months later; covered general assignments, sports, and politics; rose to be city editor in 1892, managing editor in 1909,

and editor in 1910. He led the van in many political fights and reform crusades, and such was his honesty of purpose and fairness of presentation that he raised no animosities even in those whom he fought. No one had a wider acquaintance throughout the state; and when he celebrated his golden jubilee of service, on September 6, 1935, the citizens of the nation, state, and city, from President Roosevelt down, testified to their admiration of his qualities.

Ewing died April 27, 1931, at the age of seventy-one; his son, James L. Ewing, became president of the *New Orleans States*, and Ross publisher.

Smallest of the city's three principal newspapers, the *New Orleans States* suffered most from the depression. By 1933, circulation dropped more than sixteen thousand, advertising nearly four million lines. The *Times-Picayune* bought the newspaper at the bottom of the plunge for \$525,000 cash.

Besides the good will, the price included only the Associated Press franchise, the advertising and feature contracts, and the circulation list. And the editorial staff—veterans all—and key men in the business and mechanical departments. The large building at 900 Camp street which Ewing had bought—fourth home of the *New Orleans States*; the machinery and equipment; even the “morgue” remained the property of the Ewing Estate.

A few hours after signing the sale-agreement, John D. Ewing, trustee of the Estate, assembled the staff, at 4:30 P.M., and in a breaking voice made the announcement.

Next morning—Tuesday—the editorial department reported to the new theater of operations in the *Times-Picayune* plant at the usual time—seven o'clock—all except James Evans Crown, city editor since 1919, who was ill, in Touro Infirmary; and F. Edw. Hebert, political reporter, who was pleasure-tripping in the tropics.

They were met by President Leonard K. Nicholson, Vice-President Alvin P. Howard, Business Manager John F. Tiins, Jr., and City Editor, later managing editor, George W. Healy, Jr.; given a heart-warming welcome; and conducted to the west side

of the city room, where typewriters and copy paper awaited them.

Under Acting City Editor Walter Valois, that crew of veterans went to work, as much at home in the new quarters as they had been in the old; and beat their regular deadline for the first edition, at 9:15, by three minutes. The paper that day ran sixteen pages.

The Sunday issue was dropped—rather it was incorporated with the older paper under the title *The Times-Picayune New Orleans States*, which added to its own the principal features of the *States*. The last Sunday issue of the *States* contained forty-four pages.

The *New Orleans States* announced a circulation price of 12 cents for six days, 17 cents including the Sunday issue. The former price had been 20 cents for a full week. The *Times-Picayune's* circulation price continued at 20 cents.

Ross died September 30, 1937, and Crown succeeded him as editor—another cast from the Hearsey-Ewing-Ross mold, simple, forceful, uncompromising. He made Hebert his city editor, a position the latter held until his election to Congress in 1940; and Valois his editorial assistant.

The *New Orleans States* has never been the afternoon echo of its morning contemporary. Under the new ownership, it kept the policy and retained the flavor that made it distinctive under the old. Its masthead continued to carry the name of the editor. Though the staffs of the two newspapers occupy the same large room on the fourth floor, they are as separate as if a stone wall, and not an imaginary line, were between them. Each tries to scoop the other.

Long

HUEY P. LONG celebrated his thirtieth birthday in 1923 by entering the governorship race in Louisiana. That was the minimum age limit. Without a college degree, without, even, a high school diploma, he had compressed the three-year law course of Tulane University into one year; and, entering politics in 1918 through the door of the Railroad Commission, reconstituted the Public Service Commission in 1921, had become a dominant figure almost immediately. Of doubtful grammar but polysyllabic resonance, his announcement which the *Times-Picayune* reproduced on Page 1, August 31, contained this challenge: "Our present state government has descended into one of deplorable, misunderstood orgy, of frequent corporate dictation, mingled with bewildering cataclysms of various criminations and recriminations amongst the personal satellites of the governor and the beneficiaries of the immense public plunder which he has dispensed." He would probably have been elected had not a heavy rainstorm kept his voting strength from the polls.

Four years later, it did not rain. He made a "runaway race of it," as the *Times-Picayune* reported on January 21, 1928, and piled up a "plurality of record proportions,"¹ the youngest man in the his-

¹ Governorship Democratic primary of January 15, 1924: Hewitt Bouanchaud, 84,162; Henry L. Fuqua, 81,392; Long, 73,985. Much of Long's strength swung to Fuqua in the second primary, and the latter was elected. Governorship Democratic primary of January 17, 1928: Long, 126,842; Riley J. Wilson, 81,747; Oramel H. Simpson, 80,326.

tory of the state to be elected governor. Though it had not supported him, the *Times-Picayune* promised to back his administration in all constructive measures. "Few men at his age," it said, "have enjoyed so fine an opportunity of service as is now his. He brings to it youth, enthusiasm and undoubted ability."

A few weeks after his inaugural, May 21, 1928, he defied the anti-Long House and Senate. In words of one syllable, he said, as reported in the *Times-Picayune* of June 26: "A deck has fifty-two cards. I hold the deck and I deal it myself. In the Legislature, I can have bills passed or kill them."

Almost immediately, he employed a bodyguard—the first Louisiana governor to do so.

It needed no prophet to foresee an exciting administration and one that would violate all the finer feelings of the "interests." His campaign for the railroad commissionership on the "Wall Street Money Devil" had proved that; so did his denouncement of Governor Parker as a "bought" servant of the "interests" two years later because he refused to accept Long's proposal for legislation affecting pipe-line carriers; so did his continuing defiance after the governor instituted libel suit and won it; so did the struggle in which he forced the Great Southern Telephone and Telegraph Company to reduce rates and return \$467,000 to customers; so did his governorship campaigns during which he tore into business in general and the Standard Oil Company in particular. But no one could predict the most sensational years in the history of Louisiana—war and carpetbag periods excepted.²

Wilson withdrew. In Louisiana, Democratic primary nomination is equivalent to election.

² Extracts from a Congressional committee report on an investigation of Governor Warmoth in 1872: "A series of infamous laws had been passed, placing imperial powers in the governor's hands, which he had used with a reckless disregard of the interests of the people and with the double purpose of enriching himself and his friends, and of perpetuating his control of the state. . . . Under the law, elections were a farce. The governor appointed the registrars, and through them returned his friends to the Legislature and defeated his enemies. . . . In 1868, the debts and liabilities of the state were \$14,000,000, and in 1871, three years later, they were \$41,000,000. No bill that the governor favors can fail, and none that he opposes can pass. He frequently ap-

For March 18, 1929, Long called the first of the twelve special sessions of the Legislature convened in six years. His purpose was to put a tax of five cents a barrel on petroleum products manufactured in Louisiana, a bill aimed at Standard Oil Company, which operated a large refinery at Baton Rouge. Newspaper support began to shred away, and Long coined the phrase, "the lying newspapers," which was his answer to every reporting. On March 21 Lieutenant Governor Paul N. Cyr denounced the governor as "the worst political tyrant that ever ruled in the state." On March 26 the House filed impeachment proceedings against Long, charging bribery of legislators, exaction of undated resignations from executive officials, tyrannical use of the National Guard, intimidation of private citizens, misapplication of public funds, and incompetence. Long was saved by the Round Robin of May 15, in which fifteen state senators, enough to kill the proceedings, announced that no matter what the evidence, they would not vote to convict. The reason they advanced was that the session had run beyond its prescribed term—April 6—and was therefore unconstitutional.³

Long agreed not to press the petroleum levy and, blandly ignoring all charges made against him, began to rebuild his political fortifications. He frequently appeared on the floor of the Louisiana Legislature to drive through the bills which would increase his control—bills which some of the lawmakers declared they scarcely had time to read. He wrought to such effect that when the Con-

pears on the floor of the Senate and House . . . and stiffens members, to use his own words, by his 'presence, cheerful conversation, pleasant manners, and so on.' . . . The world has rarely known a legislative body so rank with ignorance and corruption." Alcée Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New York, 1904), IV, 119–20.

³ The Round Robin: "The undersigned, constituting more than one third of the membership of the Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, do now officially announce by reason of the unconstitutionality and invalidity of the impeachment charges remaining against Governor Huey P. Long, they will not vote to convict thereon." Under the Constitution of 1921, all officers except the governor or acting governor were suspended by the filing of impeachment proceedings. If Long had been suspended, and his enemy, Lieutenant Governor Cyr, had succeeded to the power, it is likely that there would have been conviction. But Long continued to act as governor and to employ his power in that capacity. Impeachment proceedings were formally withdrawn September 13, 1930.

stitutional League was organized in New Orleans, June 11, 1929, with Former Governor John M. Parker as its president and with a war chest of \$100,000, it was not able to breach the outer line.

Always Long contended for a redistribution of wealth. In his first political campaign, he quoted Federal statistics to show that from 1890 to 1910 "the wealth of the nation trebled, yet the masses owned less in 1910 than in 1890"; and for seventeen years he dwelled persistently on this theme. The force of his argument became increasingly effective as prosperity yielded to depression.

In him, the people—the masses—felt they had a champion, because of what he "gave" them. He made schoolbooks free. He eliminated the poll tax. He built highways—more than any administration in the state's history. They cost more than they should have, but Louisiana needed highways.⁴ He put through a \$2000 homestead tax-exemption measure. He took the toll from bridges. He made jobs when unemployment was rushing through the land. He created a broad public-construction program before the Federal government invoked this method of relief. He was instrumental in the expansion of Louisiana State University, whose attendance rose during Long's administration from sixteen hundred to five thousand; and he built, in New Orleans, a fine medical school.

Not only the masses, but many among the highly placed, in the social, economic, and intellectual world, believed in him: men and women who in those desperate days were willing to overlook the means employed in a consideration of the ends to be attained; who blinded themselves to the inevitable reaction, on recovery and expansion.

On the good-roads issue, which he took to the people from a Legislature which was doubtful about a large bond issue at such a time, he campaigned in 1930 against Joseph Eugene Ransdell for the latter's seat in the United States Senate and won, with a major-

⁴ According to the *Manufacturers' Record*, the surface cost of the highways was \$25,000 a mile. To this should be added the cost of the embankment and the overhead, which greatly increased the total.

ity of 35,520 in a vote which totaled 258,016. To effectuate the program, the gasoline tax was increased to five cents a gallon, one cent of which was earmarked for schools and for port development in New Orleans and Lake Charles.

Next year—on February 22—Long received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Loyola University; ousted Cyr from office in October after the lieutenant governor tried to seize the chief magistracy; and in November gained control of the New Orleans Ring.

Elected governor in the 1931–32 campaign was Oscar K. Allen,⁵ Long-appointed chairman of the highway commission to which nearly \$100,000,000 of road-building funds had been opened in three years. Allen was inaugurated May 12, 1932, and the Legislature provided for taxes on soft drinks, tobacco, chain stores, dairy products, electricity, insurance, also a franchise tax—thus adding \$5,000,000 a year to the state's revenues. The cost of state government in Louisiana was \$30.38 per capita in 1931, or 93 per cent above the national average, and was to go higher.

Early in his administration, Long asked for a 5 per cent salary donation from every state employee, to finance the operations of his party—"job insurance" it was called. He also required every employee to underwrite five or more subscriptions to his newspaper, *Louisiana Progress*, which was a daily, monthly, or weekly, to suit his needs. He used state employees and state trucks, the *Times-Picayune* insisted, to distribute this newspaper and the broadsides which he issued from time to time.

Long took his seat in the Congress of the United States on January 25, 1932, and on April 12, introduced his first major bill, a measure to impose a 65 per cent surtax on incomes and inheritances of more than \$2,000,000. Two weeks later, he proposed an amendment to the general tax bill limiting incomes to \$1,000,000 a year and inheritances to \$5,000,000. In 1933 he launched the Share-the-Wealth movement, under which every family in the nation would

⁵ Governorship Democratic primary of January 19, 1932: Allen, 206,587; Dudley L. LeBlanc, 104,240; George W. Guion, 51,197.

receive an annual income of \$2000 to \$5000, according to his varying estimates—with no substantiation—and would live in a \$5000 home. Congress, of course, would have nothing to do with such chimeras, but thousands believed him. Before the movement was six months old, he claimed a membership of six million for Share-the-Wealth clubs. “Liar and faker” he publicly called President Roosevelt when the latter refused to go the Long route in taxing capital.

After his defiance of the President, Long lost the Federal patronage, but his hold on the people was so strong that this did not break him. Nor did the charge of fraud against his “Machine” in the election of John H. Overton, September 13, 1932, to the Senate, vice Senator Edwin S. Broussard, whom Long had once supported.

Stormy were the hearings which a Senate subcommittee held in New Orleans, in 1932 and 1933, on this charge. Long used the Senate as a sounding board for denouncing the special counsel of the subcommittee, General S. T. Ansell, an attorney who had been World War adviser to President Wilson.⁶

The subcommittee found that there had been fraud and corruption in the election, but that Senator Overton had not known about it, and therefore his election should not be challenged.

For a time, the power seemed to be slipping from Long’s grasp. In 1933 the New Orleans Ring broke with him and ran Mayor Walmsley for re-election; he defeated Long’s candidate, John F. Klorer. Yet even in that year, the Long-sponsored candidate, Mrs. Bolivar E. Kemp, was elected congresswoman from the Sixth Louisiana District to succeed her husband who had died in office. The election, however, brought forth such loud protests that Congress refused to seat her; and in April, 1934, an anti-Long man, J. Y. Sanders, Jr., son of a former governor, defeated Long’s candidate, Harry D. Wilson, for many years commissioner of agriculture.

⁶ Huey Long at first disclaimed Senatorial immunity, but when General Ansell instituted a damage suit for \$500,000 because of the strong personal language the Senator employed, Long invoked this privilege. The United States Supreme Court, however, ordered the case to trial; the action was pending at the time of Long’s death.

In May, when the Legislature met for its general session, the House began to reorganize against Long, and was able to show a bloc of forty-seven votes, four less than a majority.

On July 30, 1934, martial law was declared in New Orleans, and the National Guard seized the city registration office. Mayor Walmsley mustered in five hundred extra policemen, and the two armed forces faced each other across the narrow street between City Hall and the registration office. These warlike preparations made both sides so circumspect that the congressional elections were as peaceful as a baby's dream.

After failing to achieve a majority, the anti-Long movement in the House petered out rapidly. By August, when Long caused a special session to be called, it was negligible. Passing twenty-seven bills in seventy-seven hours, that special session of August 14, 1934, gave the governor full control of elections, authorized him to call out the National Guard for any purpose, created a state constabulary, sheared the city government of New Orleans of much power, and put a tax on newspaper advertising. The tax imposed on advertising in all publications with a circulation of 20,000 or more a week was an attack on the freedom of the press, launched by Long, the press charged, to bring unfriendly newspapers into line. The *Times-Picayune* believed the tax was especially aimed at it.

That newspaper, which had been co-operative with him at first, had turned against him. Most of the 141 editorials listed under the name of Huey P. Long in its file index from July 17, 1923, to August 29, 1935, warned the people of the end to which it thought he was driving. For the same reasons, other newspapers fell away from him. Through the radio and the sound truck, and through the power of his political organization, he had been able to carry election after election. But he knew the importance of the press, as indicated by the heavy emphasis he placed on his *Progress*; and he feared the press, particularly the *Times-Picayune*, the most powerful newspaper in the state. The tax which the Legislature voted was Long's last effort directed against the press. The *Times-*

Picayune and twelve other Louisiana newspapers took the issue to the Supreme Court of the United States, which in 1936 threw out the law as "a deliberate and calculated device . . . to limit the circulation of information to which the public is entitled by virtue of the Constitutional guaranties," for "A free press stands as one of the great interpreters between the government and the people. To allow it to be fettered, is to fetter ourselves." Continuing: "The newspapers, magazines and other journals of the country, it is safe to say, have shed and continue to shed, more light on the public and private business of the nation than any other instrumentality of publicity; and since informed public opinion is the most potent of all restraints upon misgovernment, the suppression or abridgement of the publicity afforded by a free press can not be regarded otherwise than with grave concern."

Another special session of the Legislature, December 17, 1934—thirty-three Acts in five days. At that session, according to the *Times-Picayune*, Long completed the "financial ruin" of the city government of New Orleans; and put through the five-cent tax on petroleum.

Standard Oil Company immediately laid off a thousand employees, and threatened to close the Baton Rouge plant. The city rose in protest, for Standard Oil was its economic life. A mass meeting was called for January 4, 1935. Before it ended, announcement was made that the company and the state had composed their differences, and that all dropped employees would be taken back. Under the agreement, the tax was reduced to one cent on condition that the company refine a larger volume of crude than it had been doing, a development that would have taken place anyway as the state came into its oil birthright. But this did not quiet an aroused community. Through the hurriedly organized Square Deal Association, it demanded—not requested—that the menace of such action be lifted from the city. From Louisiana sped the word "Civil War," as three hundred armed men seized the parish courthouse

on January 25; as Allen declared martial law, surrounding the capitol and executive mansion with six hundred National Guardsmen and state police; and as soldiers clashed with Square-Dealers drilling in the airport—casualties, one Long man and one anti-Long, slightly injured.

The state contained the makings of Civil War—no doubt about that. For if Long, at the height of his career, had erected the most absolute power in Louisiana since Reconstruction, he had also raised resentment to a frenzy. He increased his bodyguard and never moved without it. A spark would have touched off an explosion comparable to September 14, 1874. The probabilities of Long's assassination were often discussed, not only among the violent and the lawless, but among conservative elements in the state.

The climax came on the night of Sunday, September 8, 1935, a few minutes after the opening session of the twelfth special convening of the Legislature during the Long regime, the seventh in thirteen months, which had been called to enact forty-two bills, one of them aimed at the curtailment of the Federal emergency-relief program in Louisiana. Long was walking down a corridor of the Capitol, surrounded by his bodyguard. Suddenly a shot—then a fusillade. Long fell, mortally wounded; and on the floor lay Dr. Carl A. Weiss, young physician of Baton Rouge, with seventy bullet holes through his body.

The *Times-Picayune* issued two extras.⁷ For days, the crime, Long's career, and the Louisiana situation were the paramount interest. In thousands of words, the telegraph, the cable, and the wireless carried the news to the world—Page 1 in every daily in this country, and in many of Europe's capitals.

Long died two days later. He was buried in front of the Capitol after a funeral which filled Baton Rouge with the largest crowd it

⁷ Extra sales of the *Times-Picayune* that day set a new record, 24,892 papers; extra sales on his death, 23,257.

had known. His grave became something of a shrine, visited by thousands from all parts of Louisiana and many parts of the United States.⁸

Long partisans asserted Weiss was the agent, chosen by lot, of a large and far-reaching conspiracy of assassination. Long opponents asserted that his own people, stung by the humiliations which he imposed on them, killed him and shot down Dr. Weiss to cover their guilt. Neither side presented any proof.

There was no conspiracy, and Dr. Weiss had not even taken part in the general agitation against Long, so there could have been no choosing by lot. But the evidence was too convincing, as the *Times-Picayune's* reports showed, to doubt that he shot Long. No one knows why. For a time, it was believed that Long's plan to legislate his father-in-law, Judge B. F. Pavy of St. Landry parish, off the bench, was the motive; but Dr. Weiss's temperament and other circumstances threw out that theory. Perhaps this kind and gentle man brooded, as many others did, on the imagined dangers to his state; perhaps the furious expressions, heard on all sides, that only Long's death would bring peace, built up an emotional pressure which finally exploded.

⁸ A fourteen-foot bronze statue, for which the Legislature appropriated \$50,000, was unveiled at Long's grave March 21, 1940. A statue for which the Legislature appropriated \$15,000, was unveiled in Statuary Hall of the national Capitol, April 25, 1941.

Gains

OFFSETTING the losses in the depression years, were gains—social gains, which are the essence of a newspaper's purpose. The *Times-Picayune* presented them fully in its news columns, and commented on their significance in its editorial. Not that its Democratic policy made it a subservient endorser of every measure proposed by President Roosevelt. It frequently opposed him, as when he tried to enlarge the Supreme Court. But its attitude towards the evolving social order proved that its response to the popular cause was as vigorous as it had ever been.

Prohibition's ending introduced a new temperance into American habits. President Roosevelt, in his proclamation, stressed that; and New Orleans' calm acceptance of hard liquor was in that spirit. One no longer felt impelled to drink beyond one's desires, to express resentment at a bad law. The barrooms observed the regulations and the obvious decencies as the speakeasies had never done and as the licensed establishments had not done in the old legal days. The fact that bars since 1933 have catered to women as well as to men reflects the improvement in the general attitude.

From the time of its organization late in the summer of 1935 to 1940, the Work Projects Administration gave employment to 7,800,000 different persons, who in that time completed 470,000 miles of roads and streets; built 37,200 bridges and reconditioned 37,400 others; erected more than 23,000 public buildings, includ-

ing several thousand schools, and renovated or enlarged 65,800 others; laid 9600 miles of water mains and 15,000 miles of storm and sanitary sewers; created 189 airplane landing fields, more than 1300 parks (besides improving 5300 old ones), 1200 swimming or wading pools, 8000 tennis courts and thousands of playgrounds or athletic fields; in addition, they made 222,000,000 garments for the needy, served 384,000,000 school lunches, repaired and catalogued millions of library books, and achieved many art, literary, historical-research, and scientific developments.

In its attack on the slums of the nation, the United States Housing Authority launched, from its organization in 1937, to June 30, 1940, 413 public-housing projects in thirty-two states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. These structures will contain, it was announced, 145,646 homes—of which more than 11,000 were occupied by 1940—average rental in the North \$15.20 a month, in the South \$10.02. In the smaller centers, the cost averaged \$3219 a home, in the larger cities \$3627—20 to 30 per cent lower than the legal limits.

Through the Tennessee Valley and Agricultural programs, the government, after 1933, attacked erosion—water and wind—which was reducing millions of acres to the sterility that has overtaken productive land in other parts of the world because of wasteful methods of cultivation. Contour plowing, terracing, legume and pasture-planting, and fertilizing are holding the precious top-soil in place and building into it a new bounty—restoring such power to produce as amazed the pioneers.

On the stripped land, the Civilian Conservation Corps replanted forests, so necessary for conserving the water supply, for sheltering wild life, for providing future income. This agency, since its creation in 1937, had, up to July 1, 1939, planted 2,000,000,000 trees, built 112,864 miles of truck trails or minor roads and 44,000 bridges, and reduced the fire hazards on more than 2,000,000 acres.

Remote farmhouses have been touched with the magic of electricity by the Rural Electrical Administration since 1935. That

agency has financed a program for carrying power to 810,000 new rural consumers, of whom 551,000 were being served by May 31, 1940.

The Farm Security Administration from 1935 to 1940, helped 549,641 families by direct grant and 828,914 by loans to achieve farm security and to lift themselves above the tenant and share-cropper status.

Because of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, employees have the right to organize for collective bargaining, an enormous stride in social progress. By June 1, 1940, this Administration had passed on 28,132 cases involving 6,147,593 workers, establishing the principles of fairer relationships between employer and employee, and had settled 2076 strikes.

The Social Security Act of 1935—its principles accepted by the states and incorporated in their political functioning—introduced a new security to the masses, in unemployment insurance, vocational rehabilitation opportunities, health improvement, old-age pensions, and support of the needy.

President Roosevelt's speech of December 1, 1936, in Buenos Aires, at the opening of the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, opened the way for the new internationalism of this hemisphere—proclaiming, as it did, a policy which would invite the understanding and evoke the co-operation of the Latin-American nations with this country, instead of driving them, filled with distrust, to alliances elsewhere. In a world which was steadily going from bad to worse after World War I, this was creation of a high order.

These are only the high lights of the principal gains which the uneasy decade yielded—those which we would not have made had it not been for the human crisis.

By 1930, tung plantings had jumped from China via a Florida cemetery to Louisiana, and in the decade would cover 20,000 acres, a new industry of large promise in a state seeking for new agri-

cultural development to meet failing markets in other directions.

In that same year the *Times-Picayune* began the campaign which in six years freed the state of the cattle tick and opened the way to the dairy and beef-cattle industries, to establish a new farm cycle important not only for the extra income it evoked, but also because it automatically provided for the renewal of soil fertilities.

Early in the century Louisiana had begun to fight the pest which, feeding on cattle, took two to three hundred pounds of blood a year from each animal, reducing the milk and beef yield accordingly, and was so deadly to unacclimated animals that pure-strain sires could not be imported to breed-up the local stock. Under government auspices—thanks to the bill which Senator Joseph Eugene Ransdell introduced into Congress in 1906—the work began; and in 1913, Louisiana's first parish was tick-free—Madison.

Six years later, twenty-one parishes were clean—Caddo, Claiborne, Lincoln, the Felicianas, East Baton Rouge, East Carroll, Madison, Tensas, Concordia, St. Mary, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. James, St. John, St. Charles, Jefferson, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, Jefferson Davis, Orleans; and also the eastern part of Iberville. By November, 1920, all the state except Acadia, Beauregard, Bossier, Evangeline, Franklin, Grant, and Pointe Coupée, was released from Federal quarantine.

Lax or—what was worse—dictatorial enforcement sacrificed the gain. Farmers, confusing methods with principles, refused to dip their cattle; they blasted the vats. Over most of the state, the interdiction of Federal quarantine again descended.

In 1927 Louisiana again began to rally against the tick; the New Orleans Association of Commerce next year carried the agitation through the state; the Legislature passed a bill in 1929, but Governor Long vetoed it, because the tick-eradication associations refused to support his proposed tax on oil refineries, as the *Times-Picayune* revealed on March 19.

That newspaper then began to crusade. It sent one of its best reporters, Bernard L. Krebs, through the state. He wrote fifteen

articles. Appearing from April 27 to May 30, 1930, the series showed that Louisiana was spending \$30,000,000 a year for dairy products which it could produce at home; and that, if the industry continued to shrink at the rate of recent years, the losses of the future, actual and relative, would be a great deal larger.

In 1920, the last year in which tick eradication was pushed on a statewide scale, Krebs related, 1,267,734 head of cattle passed through the dipping vats. In 1928 a government survey reported only 500,000 head in the state. The 1929 assessment rolls of Louisiana counted only 363,011 head, a figure probably within 80 per cent of the actual total. In ten years, then, the state had lost about 800,000 head—dead, and shipped into other states. Assessments showed how agricultural values had shrunk as the farm system was thrown off balance. In only sixteen parishes had assessments risen; in the other forty-eight, they had declined from a total of \$821,408,119 in 1921 to \$613,910,963 in 1929. The tax rate in this fading territory had risen from \$23.08 to \$30.47 per \$1000 of assessment.

Mississippi built a border fence to keep out Louisiana's ticky cattle. In parts of only three states did the Federal quarantine still brood, and more than one third of all this ticky territory was in Louisiana.

There was no standing against such facts as these. Louisiana's Legislature in 1930 passed an eradication bill, and Governor Long signed it. But the financing was inadequate, and nothing was done to correct the fault.

The *Times-Picayune* continued to drive for a clean state, and in 1932, the Legislature passed a bill providing for a small tax on dairy and beef products to finance the work. Governor O. K. Allen signed it.

Work began the next year, in eleven parishes—building vats, and educating the farmers. The Civil Works Administration—Federal relief organization—threw 2500 men on the job in 1934. By December 1, 1936, all Louisiana was tick-free, the government lifted the quarantine, and it was Louisiana's turn to erect a fence

to keep out infested cattle—a 210-mile barrier along the western border against Texas.¹

This anti-tick campaign cost \$4,000,000, according to the *Times-Picayune* of July 9, 1937, but that was a cheap price to pay for such economic progress. At the end of 1940 the United States Bureau of Animal Husbandry reported that Louisiana's cattle population had increased 25 per cent, and that the quality of the herds had been improved—through the importation of purebred sires—35 per cent.

Louisiana, made highway-conscious by its ten thousand motor vehicles, had begun gravel construction in 1911 under a program in which the parishes matched dollars with the state; experimented with paving, laying almost four miles of Warrenite from Alexandria to Camp Beauregard in 1919 at a cost of \$109,852; created the Highway Commission in 1922, and implemented it with a two-cent gasoline tax later increased to four; and by the end of 1928, had, for its 264,000 motor registrations, 10,400 miles of roads, 5700 of them gravel-surfaced, 330 paved, the rest dirt. The state had to that time supplied \$57,000,000 of the construction funds—most of it since 1922.

Governor Long in 1928 launched a \$30,000,000 paved-highway program, effectuated through bonding the yields of the gasoline tax. The *Times-Picayune*, though it opposed Long, supported the measure: "a comprehensive paved-highway system," it said August 31, 1928, was "a state necessity." But it proposed—in line with past urgings, for instance the editorial of June 1, 1928—that highway building be divorced from politics, that the Citizens' Advisory Committee, which Long promised to create to pass on all projects, be given legal status. Long accepted that proposal, but the Old Regular organization of New Orleans killed it. When the necessary Constitutional amendment authorizing the bond issue was

¹ This fence was removed in 1939, after the territory against which it guarded was made clean. Several small sections of South Texas were still quarantined at the end of 1940; also, the Everglades area of Florida.

passed, the program was put into effect under the informal but effective supervision of this committee. This gave the state many miles of modern highway, but they were not connected; for, instead of laying the concrete in continuous stretches, Long placed it in dabs all over the state—infuriating to the communities but leaving them with a desire for more. In 1930 he put through a \$68,000,000 program, and Louisiana, which had been backward in highway construction, had the most comprehensive program in the entire South.

From 1928 through 1936 the state built 9800 miles of highway. The entire system, that year, totaled 18,000 miles—9600 graveled, 3750 paved, the rest graded: many through routes spanning the state, and hundreds of feeder or farm-to-market roads leading into them. And all bridges were toll-free; Louisiana was surrounded by states which still charged tolls to cross streams, and would be for years.

Louisiana dedicated its thirty-three-story Capitol May 16, 1932, at the inaugural of Governor O. K. Allen—a modernistic structure, enriched with bronzes and sculpture work, springing from a broad base into an arresting white tower 450 feet high. Visible for miles, it put an exclamation point on the flat scenery. Political enemies of the administration referred to it as the “silo.” They would have enjoyed the strictures of the architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, who saw an “undemocratic” trend towards the “harsh feeling of militarism” in the design; but nearly nine years were to pass before his visit to Baton Rouge.² This structure cost \$5,000,000. The castellated Gothic capitol for which it substituted cost \$130,000. These figures indicate the progress Louisiana had made in eighty-odd years. The Legislature which launched the old building in 1847 appropriated a total of \$722,122 for the year; the one which launched the new in 1930 appropriated \$83,060,948 for the bien-nium.

² *Times-Picayune*, January 15, 1941.

New Orleans dedicated its Municipal Auditorium January 15, 1930, a \$2,000,000 structure built after eight years of agitation. It contains two main halls, with seating capacities of 4625 and 2424, which can be thrown into one to accommodate 10,000. Beauregard Square, in front, was formerly the open space where slaves danced their African measures and where, later, circuses offered their delights. The parking area on the upper side is the filled-in Old Basin, once the inner port of a large maritime movement via Lake Pontchartrain and Bayou St. John.

Sixty-six years after the *Daily Picayune* had predicted it, New Orleans dedicated, December 6, 1935, its railroad-highway bridge across the Mississippi.³ It was the eleventh spanning of the river between St. Louis and the Gulf of Mexico, the largest and the most expensive—it cost \$13,000,000—a structure which wrote a new chapter in engineering textbooks. Five years later, August 10, 1940, Baton Rouge dedicated its \$10,000,000 railroad-highway bridge across the Mississippi; and that same year, Natchez dedicated its bridge.

The New Orleans bridge provides a vertical clearance of 154 feet for vessels; the Baton Rouge, 65 feet.

Designed by Ralph Modjeski, who already had five Mississippi crossings to his credit, the New Orleans structure was built by the Public Belt Railroad Commission of New Orleans and the State Highway Department; it was named for Huey P. Long.

It is nearly four and a half miles long, this shaping of 60,100 tons of steel, 413,370 cubic yards of concrete, and 4400 tons of granite,

³ *Daily Picayune*, August 29, 1869: "Our eyes will probably not see it, but the time is not far distant when a bridge will span the Mississippi at New Orleans, with a double track for ordinary vehicles and another double track for railways." And so on, for half a column. This was five years before the completion of the first bridge from St. Louis down. James B. Eads began that \$6,500,000 structure in 1867, finished it in 1874 after solving problems which a convention of engineers had declared were insuperable. Between then and 1910, three more bridges were built at St. Louis; one at Cape Girardeau in 1928; one at Thebes in 1905; one at Cairo in 1929; two at Memphis in 1892 and 1916; one at Vicksburg in 1929.

which rises the height of a thirty-six-story building from the bottom of concrete, eighty-three feet below the bed of the river, to the top of steel. It saves an hour's time in railroad transportation between the east and west banks of the river, and it is the crossing of the Jefferson Highway—U.S. No. 61—from New Orleans to Winnipeg, Canada, and of the Old Spanish Trail—U.S. No. 90—from St. Augustine, Florida, to San Diego, California. There are two railroad tracks of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent grade, two 18-foot vehicle roadways of 4 per cent grade, and two walkways for pedestrians. The east-bank approach is 8678 feet long, the west-bank 10,791 feet, the river span, which rests upon five piers, 3535 feet.

To support the structure, 1,189,034 linear feet of piling were driven. The river foundations were placed too deep—170 feet below the ground surface—for compressed air caissons, so engineers built artificial islands, in the stream, and sunk the piers through these islands. Only on one other job had the sand-island method been used—in building the Suisan Bay bridge in California. The islands were created by sinking woven willow mattresses, 250 by 450 feet, to keep the river bed from scouring at those points; driving huge circles of piles; sinking steel cylinders 120 feet in diameter through the center; and pumping in sand. The steel cut through the mats, and the material within the cylinders was removed. Section by section, the concrete piers were built; the sand beneath them was removed by dredging, and they sank to the determined level. The footings sustain a weight of about three and a half tons to the square foot.

Disaster frequently threatened, as the enormous pressures forced in material from below the river's bed; quick and faultless engineering met the danger.

Because of the height of the superstructure and because of the swiftness of the current, it was not possible to build the spans on barges and float them into position. So engineers followed the balanced cantilever guy derrick erection method. From the tops of the piers, they built out and braced the steel in both directions,

from the piers, an equal weight on each side, until end met approaching end, and the two were connected, with 500-ton jacks making the final adjustments. Since the spans were as much as 790 feet in length, this was the greatest triumph in balanced construction on record.

Twenty years after the *Daily Picayune's* prophetic editorial, a group of Orleanians, in 1889, incorporated the New Orleans Terminal Railway and Bridge Company to build the facility; in 1892, after the completion of the first Memphis bridge, they secured Congressional authorization, with an eighty-five foot clearance for vessels. But engineering problems were too difficult; the cost was too great. The *Daily Picayune*, however, kept the issue to the fore.

In 1920 the Commission Council authorized the purchase of a site—a political gesture, for the city was without funds; but the Behrman administration was being battered by the McShane and Parker municipal and state reform movements, and needed something at which to point with pride. Not until 1924 did the Public Belt Commission buy the site, nine miles above Canal street, and secure Congressional authorization. But eight years passed before the undertaking—"one of the most important projects in the history of the river," as the *Times-Picayune* said September 28, 1932—could be financed. After the Southern Pacific Company contracted to use the bridge instead of ferries for its trains,⁴ and the State Highway Department guaranteed \$7,000,000 of the cost in return for toll-free highway privileges, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation on December 30, 1932, underwrote the \$13,000,000 bond issue.

From the same depression which threw this new skyline above the city, New Orleans evoked the largest public development and beautification program in its history.

The preceding boom-decade had awakened the city to the im-

⁴ On October 8, 1940, Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, Missouri Pacific Railroad Company, and Texas Pacific-Missouri Pacific Terminal Railroad signed contracts with the Public Belt Commission to route their trains over the bridge instead of ferries.

portance of its lakefront, then its frowzy back yard, a weary stretch of mosquito-ridden marsh, occupied by the Southern Yacht Club; the three small amusement centers, West End, Spanish Fort, and Milneburg; and a welter of "camps" standing on precarious stilts in the knee-deep water—unsightly shacks, most of them, nominally erected for fishing purposes but actually dedicated to the meretricious seekings included in the poetical symbolism, "wine, women and song."

In the Constitutional Convention of 1921 and in the Legislature which followed this was launched the waterfront reclamation plan, the program to be carried through by the Orleans Levee Board under the theory that the raising of the land for which the development called would provide a better protection against storm-flooding than the small levee which had been built there many years before. A few years later—in 1926—the city paid \$1,750,266 for the eleven hundred acres of swampy jungle between City Park and the lakefront, a matted growth of vegetation so thick that even snakes and alligators had to follow twisting paths.

On the lakefront the years of plenty brought forth some unimpressive bulkheading for the fill—hardly a beginning on a development estimated at \$27,000,000 to \$40,000,000. As for the Park extension, even the most optimistic did not expect to see it in their lifetime, and doubted that the next generation would achieve it.

In the years of scarcity both projects got under way with a rush, and another project in the same area was launched—an airport for land and sea planes.

On September 24, 1930, was driven the first of the 21,000 concrete piles which support the 5½ miles of curving concrete sea wall between West End and the Industrial canal. Behind this were pumped, from the lake bottom, 33,100,000 cubic yards of sand, one seventh the volume of excavation in the Panama canal, to create 2000 square acres of land for the city's new front yard.

In the first planning most of this water-frontage was to be sold to subdividers for residential construction by the wealthy; but,

yielding to popular demand—in which the *Times-Picayune* was a leader—the Levee Board dedicated a broad belt along the entire stretch to a public park, and put only the back lands upon the market. This gave the city a better water playground than that of the Mississippi Gulf Coast, which had been the resort of the poorer people when they could afford the luxury of the dollar excursion ticket.

Included in the flood-protection plans of the lakefront were the locks in Bayou St. John and the New Basin canal, which were finished in 1932 at a cost of \$405,067.

In 1933 the airport, adjoining the lakefront development, was taking shape; and an army of workers was attacking the jungle of City Park Extension.

The airport called for another fill, 6,000,000 cubic yards. From a 5400-foot base line on the shore, it extends 3950 feet into the lake in the form of a triangle, 287 acres contained within a concrete sea wall.

It was dedicated February 9, 1934. It was the “finest airport in the United States,” said Brigadier General Charles H. Danforth in the *Times-Picayune* of January 9. By 1939 it was probably the most beautiful, with its tennis courts, swimming pool, ornate administration building decorated with original murals, and landscaping. According to the *Times-Picayune* of August 8, it cost \$5,000,000.

It was named for A. L. Shushan, president of the Levee Board, but that honor was recalled after the political scandals of 1939, in which Shushan was involved, and it was renamed the New Orleans Airport. Removing Shushan’s name was a long and costly process, for he had put it everywhere he could think of—on door knobs, door mats, the roof, and the cornerstone, blazoning it in brass, chromium, rubber, marble, and cement, in electric lights and in flowers.

City Park Extension, after it was cleared, was raised one to six feet in elevation, landscaped, and given many facilities for public

diversion. Beginning almost in the center of the city, this park reaches to the lake and connects with the five-and-a-half-mile water-front park there.

These two projects and the airport were the three largest theaters of the public-relief drama, not only in New Orleans, but in Louisiana. To June, 1936, the Federal relief agencies spent \$3,253,438 on the lakefront, \$4,727,950 on the Park Extension, \$102,434 on cleaning out the obstructions in Bayou St. John, which is the lower boundary of the park, and beautifying its banks, and \$125,654 on the airport; and earmarked for these same developments, respectively, \$3,141,123, \$10,610,197, \$284,228, and \$254,013.

In 1939 the Federal relief agency began another water-front improvement, a yacht harbor.

Another impressive contribution by the Work Projects Administration to the finer appeal of the city was the Floral Trail, begun in 1936. This was a planned development in public landscaping along more than sixty miles of avenues and streets of New Orleans. By 1940 it had about 60,000 azaleas—30 varieties, 600 camellias, and 40,000 other plants; its cost was estimated at \$1,000,000. Under this impulse, homeowners on and off the Trail steadily increased their flower plantings, and the lavish display of petaled beauty brings thousands of visitors to New Orleans in the springtime.

Under this beautiful touch the neutral grounds added new distinctiveness to the city. The first neutral ground was the center of broad Canal street when that thoroughfare divided the French and the American municipal districts, each with its own government, each with its antagonisms towards the other. Those old grudges long ago disappeared, but in New Orleans, the middle area in every thoroughfare, not devoted to traffic, is still called a neutral ground.

Some of the neutral grounds are covered-over canals, the reason for the width of many streets. The city's modern drainage system, begun at the end of the last century, contemplated fifty-four miles of open canal through which the runoff from the street gutters

was slowly pumped into the lake. Some twelve miles of these main canals have been covered, a large percentage by the Work Projects Administration, leaving only forty-two miles open, principally through areas of small development. All will eventually be covered.

The neutral-ground idea is so ingrained in New Orleans planning that the wider new streets are given this beautification, which incidentally is a traffic safeguard.

Attic-ventilation fans had shown, in the 1920's, that the summer heat could be tempered, and in 1923 the Orpheum theater had put in an \$80,000 cooling system. But not until the next decade did New Orleans do anything in a large way about the weather—with air-conditioning, which reduces temperature fifteen degrees and humidity 50 per cent, besides filtering out the dust.

The first large installations were: Krauss Company, Ltd., 1931; D. H. Holmes Company, Ltd., 1932; Saenger, Tudor, and Loew-State theaters in the same year; American Bank building, 1933.

New Orleans made larger progress in this direction than any other city. By 1933 it had 25 installations, two of them in private homes, of a combined air-conditioning capacity of 2900 tons. A ton is the equivalent of refrigeration that comes from the melting of 2000 pounds of ice a day. By the end of 1938 New Orleans had 526 installations, of 16,523 tons; 175, totaling 387 tons, were in private homes; the rest in stores, banks, office buildings, hotels, churches, night clubs, and restaurants. In hundreds of smaller establishments and homes, cooling systems—not as efficient as air-conditioning—temper the summer heat.

This has stimulated travel into the Deep South, and in New Orleans it has extended the tourist season. By 1940 the number of tourist visitors to New Orleans had trebled, according to estimates by the Association of Commerce. Before air-conditioning, no convention would consider meeting in that city between May 15 and

the fall, which begins at the end of September. By 1940 they were meeting there every month of the year.

One of the most impressive social gains emerged from the slum-clearance development. Two such projects in New Orleans received the first formal ratification by the United States Housing Authority. The program in that city was expanded to six projects, costing about \$30,000,000, to house 4887 substandard white and Negro families, giving them modern sanitation facilities, clean and attractive surroundings, and abundant recreation space. Occupancy began early in 1941, at rentals of \$12 a month for one-bedroom apartments to \$20 for three—electricity, gas, and water included.

It was estimated that the New Orleans projects met only one tenth of the substandard housing need. Throughout the country, the program barely dented the slums. But at least this was a beginning—the lean decade was the starting point for a broader foundation of citizenship, which begins in the home.

Centennial

WELL FINANCED, thoroughly established in the confidence of its territory, and conservatively managed, the *Times-Picayune*, though it suffered with all business, increased its dominance during the depression years.

Its advertising dropped from the high of 19,860,920 agate lines in 1926 and 18,806,653 in 1929 to 11,297,531 in 1933; the size of the paper shrunk until the monthly binding was less than two inches in thickness as compared with three; circulation slipped from 99,000 weekdays and 139,000 Sundays to 95,000 and 125,000; dividends fell from \$24 a year to \$10.

During this period, the *New Orleans Item*'s advertising dropped from 10,150,381 lines in 1929 to 8,955,523 in 1933; the *New Orleans States*' from 8,500,671 to 5,913,875, in 1932, the last year of the Sunday edition, and 3,868,184 in 1934; the *Morning Tribune*'s from 5,994,051 to 4,050,925 in 1934. The circulation of the *Item* dropped from 66,000 on weekdays and 82,000 on Sundays to 52,000 and 72,000; of the *States*, from 51,000 to 36,000; of the *Tribune*, from 46,000 to 38,000 in 1933 and continued to drop.

During these worst years, the *Times-Picayune* held its employment rolls virtually intact and made but small cuts in salary, which it restored as soon as definite improvement set in. It also increased the news service. On January 19, 1930, it announced the installation of a new color press—the second of that improved design to be

built—with a capacity of 30,000 sections an hour. On December 13, 1931, it increased the Sunday comic supplement from four pages to twelve, to compensate for dropping the rotogravure section the next week; after buying the *New Orleans States* July 17, 1933, it put on eight more pages of comics; and in 1937, increased the section to twenty-four pages.

The economic turn came after 1933. By the end of the decade it was possible to raise dividends to \$20. Advertising lineage increased to 15,448,955, as compared with the *New Orleans Item's* 10,291,781 and the *Morning Tribune's* 2,946,323. The *New Orleans States'* lineage increased to 5,676,599. The paper increased in size, and the monthly bindings once more measured three inches in thickness. Circulation grew to 124,000 on weekdays and 184,000 on Sundays, as compared with the *Item's* 63,000 on weekdays and Sundays, and the *Tribune's* 22,000. The circulation of the *States* increased to 52,000.

By 1937 the *Times-Picayune* organization was employing nearly seven hundred men and women, two thirds of them in the editorial, advertising, and business-administration departments. This did not include the several thousand, not on the regular payroll, engaged in delivering the papers.¹

About 350,000 words of spot news a day flowed across the editorial desks—local, telegraph, and mail—besides a huge volume of feature material, and a vast spread of drawings and photographs.

¹ Employees of the *Times-Picayune* organization as of January 25, 1937, were as follows: composing room, 112; press room, 38; stereotype department, 27; photoengraving department, 27; mail room, 27; maintenance department, 7; circulation department, 1; others, 455; total, 694. Delivery system: for *Times-Picayune*, 300 carriers and 250 newsboys on weekdays; 450 newsboys on Sundays; for *New Orleans States*, more than 300 carriers and newsboys. These were for city circulation alone. Several thousand men, women, and boys delivered the paper in the country. To carry the *Times-Picayune* to the city substations, nine trucks were used on weekdays, fourteen on Sundays; *New Orleans States*, thirteen trucks and two motorcycles. Country deliveries were made by seven trucks and a hundred and twenty-five different railroad trains. The newspaper routes in the country stretched over several thousand miles. More than two hundred mail bags, containing separately addressed papers, left the publishing plant daily for distribution by mail. Airplanes were used to rush extra copies into the country.

From this, by careful selection and editing, the paper was built, day by day. There were twenty-eight typesetting machines. Printing operations called for more than 80,000 tons of white stock and 600,000 pounds of ink a year. For the typesetting and stereotype machines, 80,000 pounds of metal were in use all the time, and it took 1,814,000 square inches of zinc a year to make the cuts. Folded once, as when it came from the press, and stacked, one Sunday issue alone would make a shaft of paper nearly three times the height of the Empire State building in New York, 1248 feet.

On Monday, January 25, 1937, the *Times-Picayune* celebrated its hundredth birthday with an issue of 268 pages.

President Roosevelt noted the anniversary. His letter dated January 22, 1937, congratulating the *Times-Picayune* on its long public service, was reproduced on Page 1. Captain Branson Taylor, director of the United States Marine Band, composed the "Times-Picayune Centennial March" in honor of the occasion; it was that day broadcast from Washington and played in New Orleans by the Civic Symphony Orchestra. The Members' Council of the Association of Commerce passed resolutions honoring the newspaper, and the Advertising Club devoted its meeting that day to the anniversary, with Thomas Ewing Dabney, staff member, the speaker.

Containing seventeen sections, which held 919 columns of editorial and 1225 of advertising matter, that was the largest issue in the history of the *Times-Picayune*, the largest in the history of the state. Two of the sections contained the daily news run—thirty pages—and the index of the fifteen Centennial sections, an index which spread over three pages and occupied more than eight columns. The special sections contained historical, economic, human-interest, and feature material—the most complete and the most accurate and the most analytical and interpretative summation of the factors which had shaped New Orleans and Louisiana during that important hundred years of American history, ever to reach

newspaper presentation. Some of the articles were of source-material value.²

Each paper weighed about four pounds. To print the enlarged edition—the normal circulation was 121,000 on weekdays, 167,000 on Sundays—700,000 pounds of paper and 16,000 pounds of ink were used. More than two thousand miles of white stock spun off the rolls in that printing, enough to lay a six-foot strip along the automobile highway from New Orleans to Los Angeles and several score miles beyond.

The issue contained 367,504 agate lines of advertising, which returned a revenue of 10.5 cents to 40 cents a line, depending on the character of the display and the conditions of the contract—\$1.47 to \$5.60 the column inch.³

For more than six months the Centennial was in the making—editorial matter written, edited, and set in type; photographs collected and made into cuts; advertising created, sold, and put in metal.

For the fifteen special sections, about 538 columns of body type were set. Cuts and headlines added nearly as much to the volume. Much of this material was crowded out of the Centennial, but it was used in subsequent issues.

Preparation of the editorial content was put in charge of Thomas Ewing Dabney, under the direction of Managing Editor George W. Healy, Jr. Mr. Dabney was chosen because of his knowledge of

² For a list of the principal articles in the Centennial issue, see Appendix D.

³ Based on the circulation of the paper, the advertising rate varies according to the amount of space bought and the character of the advertising. The unit of charge is the agate line, fourteen of which fill a column inch, three hundred a column. In 1937 the principal rates were: one-time display, 20 cents a line weekdays, 25 cents Sundays; local contract, from 10.5 cents weekdays, and 12.8 cents Sundays, to 16 and 17 cents, respectively, depending on whether contract was for a million lines or twenty-five hundred; amusements, 40 cents weekdays, 50 cents Sundays; foreign rates, one-time 27 cents weekdays, 35 cents Sundays; contract (fifty thousand lines), 24 cents weekdays, 31 cents Sundays; classified, 25 cents every day for one insertion; on yearly contract basis, rate dropped as low as 15 cents, depending on volume. For each cent of the advertising rate, there were 7787 weekday and 9006 Sunday readers.

history, and because his newspaper work had emphasized economic developments. He wrote nearly half of the total volume prepared for the special sections—signed, unsigned, and ghosted articles. Staff members of the *Times-Picayune* and *New Orleans States* contributed many articles. Others—professional writers and nonprofessional—contributed heavily.⁴

Column by column, the galley proofs went to Mr. Healy and President Leonard K. Nicholson for final editing and for the suggestions which each batch evoked. The entire newspaper organization was excited—advertising, mechanical, and distribution departments, as well as editorial. Keith Temple worked harder on his cartoon than he did on a week of regular work. Staff members put their best efforts behind their articles. Even the copy boys offered ideas. The proofreading staff went far beyond its functions in creative criticism. Especially fertile in wise editorial suggestion was John F. Tims, Jr., treasurer and business manager. The excitement spread to the community as reports of the magnitude of the work spread.

Mr. Healy planned the lay-out of the sections, their artistic embellishment and the headline emphasis. Ten days before publication date, he and Dabney began making up the sections, that the stereotype plates might be cast and the printing runs scheduled. They did this after the daily had been put to bed. The composing-room men threw off the fatigue of a full day's work in the enthusiasm for the task which sometimes held them until the sparrows were saluting the pale daylight in Lafayette Square. So carefully had everything been planned, that there was no confusion; not a single story, not a single cut, was lost, and only one or two of the headlines were misplaced.

Before half the sections were printed, all the storage space in the circulation department was exhausted, and the paper warehouse adjoining the newspaper was used. This made it necessary to rent another warehouse for the supply of white stock. Circulation Man-

⁴ A list of writers who contributed to the Centennial issue is given in Appendix D.

ager Donald W. Coleman had to work out an entirely different distribution plan for that one issue, because of its bulk. By special trucks and railroad cars, he sent the "advance" fifteen sections to his distribution points in city and country, to be held until the two news sections arrived. In some cases he hired warehouses for this storage.

Centennial Day found a community eager for the issue. Many men went downtown late at night, so they could boast they had received the first copy, hot from the press. The carriers staggered under their unwonted burdens but complained not.

That afternoon, Mr. Nicholson opened champagne in his office and invited in key members of the staff to meet officers and members of the board, informally gathered there. He distributed silver medals struck in honor of the occasion. Many friends of the newspaper expressed felicitations in person; more by telephone; and for weeks, the mails were clogged with complimentary letters from newspaper publishers and readers over the nation.

Officers of the Times-Picayune Publishing Company then were: Leonard K. Nicholson, president; Alvin Pike Howard, first vice-president;⁵ Yorke P. Nicholson, second vice-president; H. A. Davis, secretary; John F. Tims, Jr., treasurer and business manager; directors, Frank Dameron, Mrs. E. M. Gilmer (Dorothy Dix), Mr. Howard, C. H. Hyams III, Warren Kearny, Esmond Phelps, Edgar B. Stern, and the Nicholson brothers. The fourteen thousand shares of stock were held by a hundred and thirty-nine individuals or firms.⁶

That gathering in the front office and the concert by the Sym-

⁵ Mr. Howard died September 29, 1937, at the age of forty-eight. Yorke Nicholson succeeded him as first vice-president, and his widow, Mrs. Laura H. Howard, took his place on the board. C. H. Hyams III became second vice-president; John F. Tims, Jr., became third vice-president. George W. Healy, Jr., succeeded Mr. Tims as treasurer. These were the officers, with President Leonard Nicholson and Secretary H. A. Davis, at the end of 1940. By then, George H. Terriberry had been added to the board of directors, succeeding Frank Dameron, who had died.

⁶ For a list of stockholders of the Times-Picayune Publishing Company on its hundredth birthday, see Appendix E.

phony Orchestra and the Advertising Club's program and a radio broadcast by Mr. Healy were the only pauses in the business of getting out a newspaper; and, before the readers had made a dent in the Centennial issue, the *Times-Picayune* was getting out the first issue of its second century of service.

Almost immediately the company began to enlarge its physical facilities. On August 23, 1937, it gave the contract for a five-story annex to the building which had seemed so large only seventeen years before. That addition was dedicated in a twelve-page special section February 28, 1939, a structure, 78 by 84 feet, which added 32,000 square feet to the plant, every foot of which was immediately occupied. This gave the *Times-Picayune* a 228-foot frontage on Lafayette Square, which was rapidly becoming the civic center Jackson Square had once been. The post office faced the square on one side, the City Hall on the other; and on the side opposite the *Times-Picayune*, the \$2,500,000 Federal building was raising its ten stories, completed by 1940. On Poydras street, adjoining the annex, the publishing company bought and demolished two buildings, to make room for its truck-loading platform.

That same special section of February 28 described a new press installation, a Hoe six-cylinder, the last word in printing machinery. Weighing more than 250 tons, and driven by two electric motors of 200 horsepower each, it rests on a massive foundation of steel and concrete. It has a capacity of 96 stereotype plates—3½ tons of printing surface; and it can print 50,000 newspapers an hour, each paper containing 26 to 48 pages, in two, three, or four sections; or 100,000 an hour, containing 4 to 24 pages, in one or two sections. Its superimposed color couples make it possible to print four pages in four colors without sacrificing the black-page capacity.

This press took the place of a five-cylinder Hoe. With it, the *Times-Picayune* plant had two six-cylinders, each capable of printing 48 eight-column pages in black and white and four in

color, and a seven-column color press (for the Magazine and Comics supplement), capable of printing 32 pages—total for the three, a 136-page newspaper at one operation.

For the annex—\$306,187—and the printing equipment—\$228,894—the publishing house paid cash. In 1938 the *Times-Picayune* cut the dividend to \$15, but raised it to \$20 in 1939 and 1940; and at the end of 1940, it declared a 100 per cent stock dividend, so that there are now 28,000 shares of stock outstanding.

The physical plant of the *Times-Picayune*, at the end of 1940, represented an investment of \$692,270 for building, not counting real estate, and \$1,255,996 for equipment. In twenty years, the physical plant had doubled in value, but the value of the business had increased in a much larger percentage.

On February 7, 1938, the *Times-Picayune* increased the price of the Sunday issue to ten cents, forced to that step by the rise in production costs, especially the 25 per cent advance in white stock. It was one of the last of the nation's larger dailies to do this. At the same time, the company advanced the street price of the *New Orleans States* from three to four cents, and the delivered price from twelve to fourteen cents a week, or twenty-two cents including the Sunday paper. The street price of the *Times-Picayune*, week days, remained the same, five cents, but the delivered price advanced a penny to seventeen cents, six days, and including the Sunday issue, a nickel, to twenty-five cents.

On April 18, that year, the newspaper raised its body type to 7½ points on an eight-point base. This took the place of 6¾-point type on a seven-point base. To the improvement in legibility, there was copious testimony by the reading public.

On July 23, 1939, the company cut in, for both the *Times-Picayune* and the *New Orleans States*, the wirephoto service of the Associated Press. Over the 1200-mile network of wirephoto service, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, it received pictures almost as rapidly as news

flashes. By cable hook-up, it received pictures from Europe almost as rapidly. Only eighty newspapers in the United States received the service at that time.⁷

In that same year the *Times-Picayune* greatly improved its engraving-room processes, so that by using 120-line instead of 60-line screen, it could, for certain purposes, capture the luster of lithography and the contrast of intaglio.

For years the *Times-Picayune* had been raising the standards and improving the work conditions of the hundreds of carriers in its organization. It would not employ any boy unless he was of clean character, dependable habits, and high standing in his school work. The boys began on *New Orleans States* routes and were advanced to *Times-Picayune*. The treatment of the boys was so fair, the working conditions so pleasant, and the returns in cash and training so valuable, that before long, the *Times-Picayune* required all carriers to be of high-school grade.

Looking to their future life, in December, 1938, it opened a school in salesmanship and business fundamentals, and offered the course free to carriers who graduated from high school. Graduation automatically severed the boys from their routes, unless they took that year's course, and their service ended with that graduation. By then, they were ready for the larger responsibilities of business life.

Beginning with two professors, the school by 1940 had four. No business school in the city is better, course for course. No larger testimonial to its value could be asked than the immediacy with which its graduates have placed themselves in the world's work.

⁷ The first system of transmitting pictures by wire in the United States was operated by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in 1924. The mechanics of this "telephotographic" service was steadily improved. Associated Press sent its first wire-photo January 1, 1935. The *Times-Picayune* waited until all the "bugs" were out of the system, before subscribing to the service.

Victory

HUEY LONG's political organization did not disintegrate with his death. Nor did it fall apart when Governor Allen died, January 28, 1936, before his term expired, and the Long organization was torn with strife over the succession to the power. It was too firmly entrenched.

James A. Noe of Monroe, presiding officer of the Senate since the election of Lieutenant Governor John B. Fournet to the Louisiana Supreme Court, filled out Allen's term. Richard W. Leche was elected governor in 1936; Earl K. Long, Huey's brother, lieutenant governor.¹ Leche had been private secretary to Governor Allen, later judge on the appellate bench.

The old Long organization continued its attack on the city government of New Orleans, which could not pay its policemen and firemen, could not even pay for the collection of garbage. One by one the political leaders of the city surrendered. Mayor Walmsley held out until June 30, 1936, when his resignation opened the way for Robert S. Maestri, who had been Long's Commissioner of Conservation. He became mayor on August 17, 1936, without an election, the parish committee certifying that he was the only candidate; and by a Constitutional amendment, he was given a six-year term, instead of the two remaining years of Walmsley's term.

¹ Returns of the Democratic primary of January 21, 1936, were: Leche, 362,502; Cleveland Dear, 176,150.

More powerful than ever—with the city and state politicians working together—the “Machine” moved to a larger despoiling. By 1940 twenty-seven new taxes had been imposed, including a sales tax, which Huey Long had refused to invoke, because, he contended, it bore most heavily, in proportion to their means, upon the poor.² From the pay of state employees, the “Machine” continued to exact contributions, an amount estimated at \$1,000,000 a year. No accounting was ever made: the money went to the Louisiana Democratic Association, and only an inner circle knew what was done with it. State employees, moreover, were required to underwrite subscriptions to the *Progress*, Leche’s paper. Graft became flagrant; there was a large plundering of the mineral resources of Louisiana.

Merely by acquiescence in a condition which the state accepted, the *Times-Picayune* could have profited in advertising from “Machine”-controlled sources and in state patronage. But it never faltered. Through those debauched years, it never lowered the ideal of democratic principle and public honesty.

Devoting its columns primarily to the upbuilding of economic confidence, during those critical times, it turned over the active crusading to the *New Orleans States*.

Militant James Evans Crown, who had succeeded to the editorship on the death of J. Walker Ross, knew the full details, but was unable to go all-out on the graft situation because his informants could not or would not supply proof able to stand the test of courts. Even his exposure of the salary deductions of a member of the State Highway Department failed to evoke action, though Federal funds were involved in his work. But he kept hammering away; for two years he kept it up, and at last caught the administration in his searchlight.

² Voted by the Leche administration, the 2 per cent sales tax went into effect October 1, 1936. Repealed by the Jones administration, it ended December 31, 1940; but a 1 per cent tax was later voted by the Jones administration.

It was on June 7, 1939. That was the day, by the way, on which for the first time in history, a reigning British monarch set foot on United States soil—King George and Queen Elizabeth, en route to pay a state visit to President Roosevelt in Washington, stepped from the private train at Niagara Falls. In the morning, the *New Orleans States* received a tip, and sent a reporter and photographer to run it down. What they brought back set the whole staff to working—the Baton Rouge representative as well as the local men—to fill in the details and to buttress the revelations with facts which could not be controverted. On Friday, June 9, the *New Orleans States* touched off the explosion that rocked Louisiana.

For here was proof that the carpenter shops of Louisiana State University were supplying window frames and door sash and other materials for a private residence, and that men, supposed to be working at the University, were employed on this job, a hundred miles away.

Upon the publication of these disclosures, Governor Leche announced that he would hold a public hearing, "with a radio hook-up," in Baton Rouge on June 15. He issued subpoenas for the president and the attorney of the Times-Picayune Publishing Company; for the editor and city editor of the *New Orleans States*; and for the president of Tulane University. He added that he would be "prosecutor and defense counsel." But the governor had blundered; he had accepted battle on the field of the enemy's preparing; he had placed on trial, not the newspaper, but the administration. As soon as he realized this, Leche, on the thirteenth, called off the hearing.

But that did not kill the issue. Things had gone too far. Louisianians remembered the many revelations of the past two years. The state was in an uproar. Echoes bounced back from Washington. The nation awoke to the iniquity that had become Louisiana.

The *Times-Picayune*, on June 10, swung into the battle. From then, Louisiana politics was front-page news, not only in the state

but throughout the Union, as exposure followed exposure, and the administration was driven back and back and back by the attacks of the *New Orleans States* and the *Times-Picayune*.

Leche announced, June 25, that the President of Louisiana State University, had "resigned," and admitted there were "financial irregularities" in the latter's accounts. The next day, Leche resigned, the first Louisiana governor to do so, under fire; and Lieutenant Governor Earl K. Long succeeded him. The Work Projects Administration of the United States and Congress began investigating fraud charges in connection with the United States funds, and the Federal grand jury began its long and deep probing.

As the revelations came forth, a shocked nation learned that the *Times-Picayune* and *New Orleans States* had understated the facts. The dishonesty in the handling of public monies had been even more brazen than their most sensational charges.

Four suicides followed the exposures. From the Federal investigations begun in July, 1939, to November 11, 1940, according to a summation in the *Times-Picayune* on that date, came forty-nine indictments involving a hundred and forty-five individuals and forty-two firms or organizations. Twenty-two of the indictments had been closed—six convictions after trial by jury, four on pleas of *nolo contendere*, eleven on pleas of guilty; in one case, there was acquittal. Against fifty-one individuals and seventeen firms and organizations, sentences totaling forty-five and a half years of imprisonment were pronounced, and fines totaling \$60,700 were imposed.

The charges centered upon mail fraud, income-tax evasion, diverting Work Projects Administration labor and material, cash "kick-backs," "hot oil," violation of the antitrust law, and conspiring to defraud. To such small details as selling the same lot of second-hand furniture twice to the state did the grafters descend.

Many top leaders of the state administration received penitentiary sentences. Up and down the speculation line—contractors, slot-machine operators, political go-betweens and fixers—the lash

of Federal justice fell; actions brought in state courts added new penalties and recovered thousands of dollars filched from the people. All this because of an untrammelled and fearless press which did not forget the democratic principles of its founding a century before.

For their courage and determination in this long fight, the *Times-Picayune* and the *New Orleans States* received the most distinguished honors of Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalistic fraternity, at its annual convention in Des Moines, November 16, 1940.

The United States entered 1940 with a population of 131,669,275, a 7.2 per cent increase in ten years; Louisiana with 2,363,880, a 12.5 per cent increase; New Orleans with 494,537, a 7.8 per cent increase. Besides New Orleans, the state had four cities with a population of more than 25,000—Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Monroe, and Shreveport; and five with 10,000 to 25,000—Bogalusa, Gretna, Lafayette, Lake Charles, and New Iberia. Louisiana's property appraisements as of 1939 totaled \$1,367,839,588. In New Orleans, property valuations reached \$500,318,415. From 81,710 tons in 1840, its port business increased, by 1939, to 4,904,668 tons of foreign trade, 5,544,196 tons of coastwise trade, and 5,855,666 tons of internal trade—total 16,304,530. Its banks, at the end of 1940, had \$21,521,050 of capital, surplus and undivided profits, and deposits of \$311,661,157; and the year's debits to individual accounts helped to visualize the volume of the city's business—\$2,724,441,000.

So a great hundred years ended. The United States increased nearly eightfold, Louisiana nearly sevenfold, New Orleans nearly fivefold, and the *Times-Picayune* nearly two hundredfold, comparing merely the physical bulk of the first issue of the *Picayune* with the centennial issue of the *Times-Picayune*.

Another great hundred years begins.

Appendix

A

The "Prospectus of the *Picayune*," which appeared in the first issue, January 25, 1837, was as follows:

"To the Public.—In selecting the above title for our contemplated Journal, we intend the word to have a double application, as to its limited dimensions and demands.

‘Man wants but little here below
Nor wants that little long.’

"Some may object to our Anglo-Spanish spelling of the title, and call for the derivation; but when we exchange *our* picayune for *your* picayune, and we *derive a profit*, it will be time enough to *touch the Spanish*.

"Editors are often tempted by the Devil to do strange things, and our *diabolus ad typo*, puffed up with technicality and temerity, suggested the title of the *small pica-yune* as a *demon*-stration. But the Devil was cast out; and what is most extraordinary, the office was *too hot* to hold him.

"After holding a levee by the picayune tier—(which picayune tier is held by the Levee)—and struct [*sic*] with admiration as we beheld the graceful model, the tall and tapering spars, and the rakish rig of a beautiful privateer schooner that floated like a feather down the silver stream—we concluded to launch a literary craft of the same class.

"The Picayune will be built of the best materials; but instead of being copper-fastened she will be *leaded*.

"The Mercantile community will find it advantageous to ship their advertisements by our Clipper, as her light draught will enable her to work in shoal water, and form *channels* of communication with those who do not object to a *picayune*, but will not give a *bitt* more.

"To the Politician we predict a calm. But should the tempest of party ever wreck the Picayune, she will never hoist a signal of distress by an attempt to *put down Union*!

"To those fanatical pirates that cruise under the *black* flag—who oppose slavery, because they are themselves the slaves of ignorance and superstition—who pretend to rub clean the upper decks of their neighbors with a *holy* stone—we say look out for our Long Tom!

"To Hotel-keepers we recommend the Picayune.—In every engagement her Commander will be first to lead on the *boarders*.

"To the Heads of Families the trim appearance of our craft will be an object of interest.—Most married folks have experienced the effects of *light sparring*.

"We shall endeavor to make those smugglers, the Bachelors, heave to—show them the advantages of the proper '*companion-way*,' recommend a double state-room, with *births*, etc.

"We shall send our boat aboard Theatricals, and other amusements; those pretty pleasure boats, which make our passage over the lake of life so delightful.—Dancing we shall especially encourage; as we conceive that the safety of a vessel often depends upon keeping *both pumps going*.

"In conclusion, we beg leave to say the Picayune is calculated to carry a press of sail, should it be warranted by a *sale* from the *Press*. We shall therefore endeavor to *raise the wind* and *go ahead!!!*"

B

Printed by the *Daily Picayune* on April 13, 1862, while Farragut was storming at the water gates of the city, was the following poem:

KING COTTON

By T. Dunn English

King Cotton in the Southland dwells, far in the South alone;
The heavy hoe his scepter is, the dented gin his throne;
King Cotton in the Southland dwells, and there his court he holds,
And there his servants gather the fleece from a hundred thousand folds.

King Cotton in the Southland dwells but roams as suits his whim;
And he is free on every sea—no port is closed to him.
Though like a cowed and corded friar in rope and sackcloth drest,
The nations clap their hands for joy when comes their welcome guest;
To build him stately ships they rob the forest of its trees;
They rend the solid rock to rear his hives of human bees;

And from their toiling peasantry they send in every land,
A countless host of servitors to wait at his command.

Wherever in our Northern clime his smile of favor beams,
Arise the castles of his peers on the banks of pleasant streams.
Ay! peers are they whom serfs obey in many a crowded room—
The barons of the spindle, and the nobles of the loom.
One time good gold was got by arms, but now our Cotton Lords
By spinning jennies win their wealth, and not by knightly swords.

King Cotton is a kindly king—through him in autumn time,
Green fields grow white in the morning light, with the snow of the
Southern clime;

Through him the loaded barges go, drawn on their many trips;
Through him the beryl seas are flecked with stout and gallant ships;
Through him a myriad shuttles click, and countless spindles whirr;
Through him the smoky towns arise, with all their din and stir.
A rain of woe would pour around were cotton cold and dead;

Then were not countless millions clad, then were not millions fed.
A blight upon his flowery fields, the world with fear would pale;
From quivering lips in crowded streets break famine's feeble wail:
But while he flourishes in pride, then woe and want are banned,
Swart labor laughs and sings at toil, and plenty fills the land.

C

These unsigned verses appeared in the *Daily Picayune* on September 18, 1868, when the carpetbag government of thievery was piling on all the taxes the traffic would bear. Change a few words, and one would believe the lines were written today.

TAXES! TAXES!

Taxes! taxes! nothing but taxes!!!
Taxed upon all that man can eat;
Taxed on our flour and taxed on our meat.
Taxed upon all that covers his back,
From his cotton shirt to his broadcloth black.
Taxed on whatever is pleasant to see,
To hear or smell, to feel or to be.

Taxes! taxes! nothing but taxes!!
Grinding our nose as sharp as axes.

x x x

AND WHAT ARE THE TAXES FOR?

Why, the Freedmen's Bureau to keep in repair,
So that Radical¹ loafers can each have a chair
And a chance for the pickings and stealings there!
Taxes! taxes! Republican taxes!!
Taxed on the coffin and taxed on the crib,
On the old man's shroud and the baby's bib,
To pamper the bigot and father the knave,
Taxed from the cradle plump into the grave.

x x x

AND WHAT ARE THE TAXES FOR?

Why, to buy all the rogues they can find far and near,
And give to each thief all his stealings in clear!
Taxes! taxes! Republican taxes!
For rich men to shirk and for poor men to pay,
From the pittance they earn by the work of the day,
By the strain of the muscle, the sweat of the brow,
By the spade and the trowel, the axe and the plow.

x x x

AND WHAT ARE THE TAXES FOR?

Why, the old constitution to knock all to smash,
And fill every place-holder's pockets with cash.

x x x

Hurrah for the taxes, the jolly old taxes!
Come, men, get your noses all ground sharp as axes!
Cry Sumner and Stevens, Ben Butler and Wade,
And all our tax bosses that taxes have made:
You "mudsils" to Yankee philanthropy sold,
Be quiet—obey—and your saucy tongues hold.

x x x

FOR THAT'S WHAT THE TAXES ARE FOR!

The nose-grinding taxes!

The Republican taxes!!

The Radical taxes!!!

The Jacobin taxes!!!!

THAT'S JUST WHAT THE TAXES ARE FOR.

D

The completeness of the Centennial issue is shown in the list of articles which appeared in it, section by section. They were:

Section A, The Newspaper.—Leading Figures in the Organization's History—Development of the Newspaper—Readers of Half a Century—Community Service—Loving Cup—Doll and Toy Fund—Washington Bureau—Information Bureau—News Coverage—Carrier Pigeons—Old-Time Reporting—History of Associated Press—Advertising Services—Development of the Printing Art—Photo-Engraving—Mechanical Innovations—New Orleans as Art Center.

Section B, Louisiana.—Leading Figures in Louisiana's History—Highways—Panics—Foreign Trade—Resources of Louisiana—Economic Factors—Parishes and Counties—Petroleum—Sulphur—Sugar—Teche Country—Barksdale Airport in Shreveport—Community Chest—Writers' Project of Work Projects Administration—Employment Figures—Freedom of Press—Live Oaks.

Section C, Mississippi.—Highways—Industries—Cotton—Tung—Gulf Coast—Historical Sidelights.

Section D, Sports and Recreation.—Horse Racing—Southern Yacht Club—Sugar Bowl Athletics—Football's Beginnings—The Ring—Tennis—Drama—Mardi Gras—Hotels—As Others Saw New Orleans in Last Century.

Section E, Women.—Women in Louisiana History—Century of Style—Dorothy Dix Recalls Old Days—Development of Society News—Women's Clubs—Junior League—Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals—Poem by Pearl Rivers.

Section F, Food.—Creole Cook Book—Cooking School—Sea Foods—French Market—Winning Recipes—Domestic Science—Restaurants—Beverages—Livestock.

Section G, Manufacturing.—Summer Clothing Industry—Industrial New Orleans—Electric Power—Paper Making—Ice—Cotton Seed—Rice—Furs

—Reforestation—Pine and Cypress—Farm Rehabilitation—New Orleans Public Belt—Gas.

Section H, General Features.—Historical Highlights—Fighting Crime—Fire Department—Hospitals—Yellow Fever—Churches.

Section I, Home Beautification.—Furniture Industry of New Orleans—Styles in Furniture—Hardwood Resources—Naval Stores—Floral Beauty—Laundries—Chamber of Commerce Beginnings—Weather Bureau's Service—Famous Fires—Military Memories.

Section J, Real Estate and Building.—Construction Development—Work Projects Administration Building—Skyscrapers—Lakeshore—Homesteads—Changes in Climate—Health Improvement—Irish Channel—Luncheon Clubs.

Section K, Port.—Port Facilities—Jetties—Flood Control—Inland Waterways—Old Steamboat Days—Modern River Transportation.

Section L, Transportation.—Railroads—Street Cars—Airplanes—Buses—Highway Construction—Automobiles—Bicycle Days—Telegraph—Telephone.

Section M, Finance.—Economic High Lights—Banks—Land Banks—Cotton Exchange—Stock Exchange—Association of Commerce—Board of Trade—Sugar and Rice Exchange—Coffee—Stock Yards—Corporation Laws—Old Business Firms—Origin of Dixie.

Section N, Education.—Tulane, Loyola, Louisiana State Universities, and Other Institutions of Higher Education—Public Schools—School of Journalism—Libraries—Music—Social Service—Walt Whitman in New Orleans.

Section O, Modern Home Construction.—Development of Building Materials—Electrical Devices—Air Conditioning—Glass Walls—Up-to-Date Kitchen—Cellulose—Furniture—Circulation Department's Work.

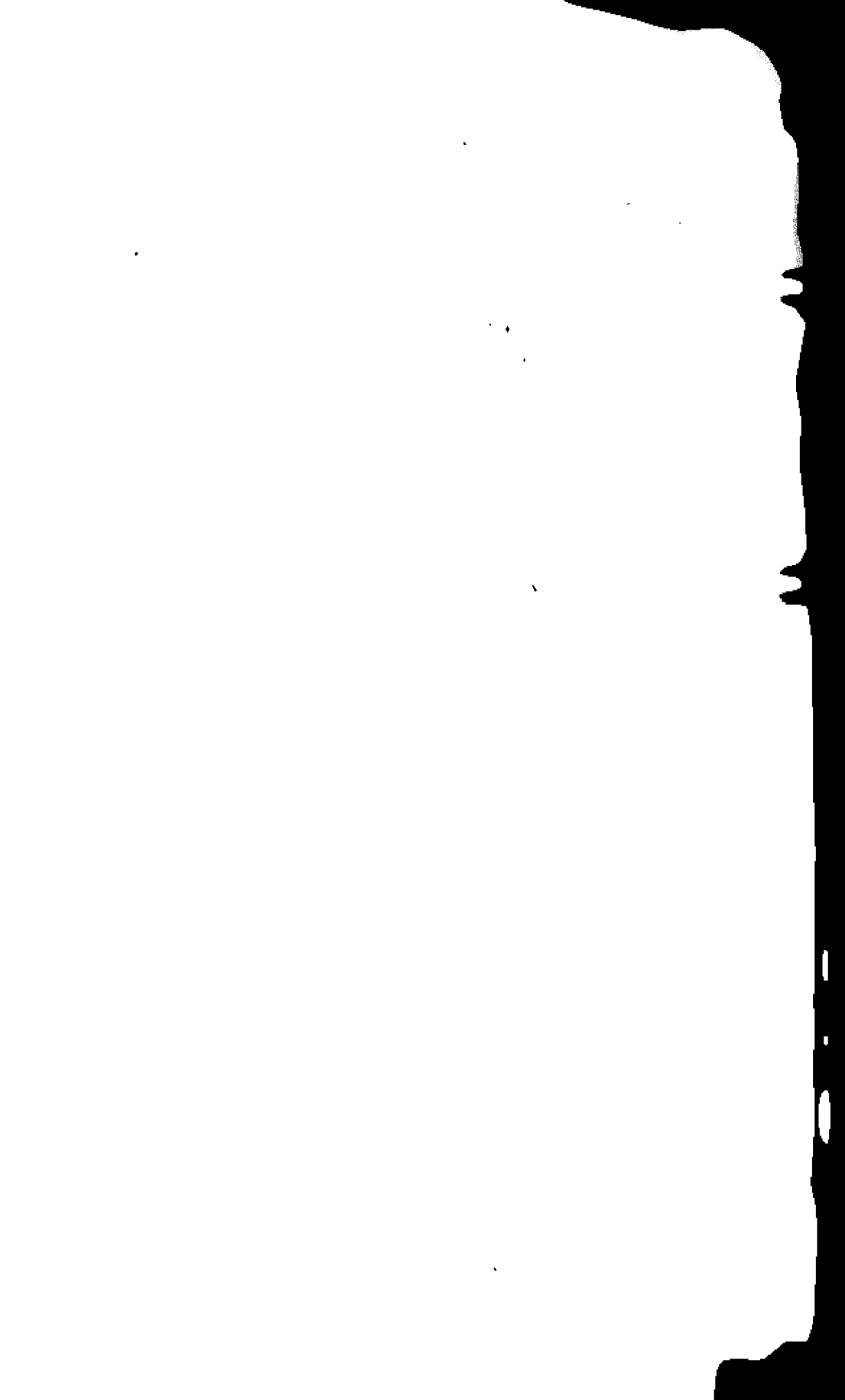
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E

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